



12.2.96.  
*Library of the Theological Seminary,*  
PRINCETON, N. J.

BX 2333 .P4 1896  
Percival, Henry R. 1854-  
1903.

The invocation of saints  
treated theologically and

*Shelf* .....



hla

SS

# THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS

“But, after all, the reformation was initiated and carried on by fallible men ; and in the storm and stress of the sixteenth century they may sometimes have mistaken their course, and, perhaps, cast out too hastily some of the precious lading of the ship.”—*From the Archbishop of York's Sermon at the Opening of the Norwich Church Congress of 1895.*

THE  
**Invocation of Saints**

TREATED  
*THEOLOGICALLY AND HISTORICALLY*

BY  
HENRY R. PERCIVAL, M.A., D.D.

AUTHOR OF  
"A DIGEST OF THEOLOGY," "THE DOCTRINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH,"  
"THE GLORIES OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH," ETC.

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO.

LONDON, NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY

1896

*All rights reserved*



## P R E F A C E

IF the reader will cast his eye down the table of contents, I do not doubt that he will wonder at the order in which the subjects have been treated; I therefore preface my book by a word of explanation.

The "Address to the Reader" speaks for itself, and, on the old doctrine that terms should be defined before discussion is begun, Chapter I. is found in its natural order. But it would seem as if the doctrine and the practice should next have been treated, and afterwards an examination made as to how far our formularies tolerate such doctrine and practice. The objection to this, which would be the natural and logical order, is that as long as the reader is possessed with the notion that the whole practice is contrary to the faith of the Anglican Church, he is in no fit frame of mind to weigh

impartially the evidence which would be laid before him. For this reason I have tried, in the first place, to show that the Anglican Church does not condemn, but is silent with regard to, the practice ; and should I have been successful in this, the reader will be ready to follow me with his sympathy in the remaining matters discussed, leading up to the overwhelming witness of antiquity, which I trust may be to others as clear and satisfactory as it is to me. What I have written well, may God implant ; what ill, may he blot out both from the minds of those who read and from the book of his remembrance !

H. R. PERCIVAL.

PHILADELPHIA, U.S.A.,

*All Saints*, 1895.

# CONTENTS

	PAGE
ADDRESS TO THE READER . . . . .	ix

## CHAPTER I.

WHAT IS MEANT BY THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS . . . . .	I
---	---

## CHAPTER II.

WHAT IS THE CONDEMNED "ROMISH DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS" . . . . .	22
--	----

## CHAPTER III.

WHAT IS THE AUTHORITY OF THE HOMILIES ON THE SUBJECT . . . . .	59
---	----

## CHAPTER IV.

WHAT IS THE DOCTRINE UNDERLYING THE PRACTICE OF THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS . . . . .	81
---	----

*(Catena of Patristic Quotations.)*

## CHAPTER V.

THAT THE SAINTS HEAR OUR PRAYERS . . . . .	III
--	-----

## CHAPTER VI.

	PAGE
THE MEANING OF THE ARTICLE, "THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS" . . . . .	134

## CHAPTER VII.

OBJECTIONS TO THE PRACTICE CONSIDERED AND ANSWERED . . . . .	147
---	-----

## CHAPTER VIII.

A HISTORY OF THE PRACTICE OF INVOKING THE SAINTS. . . . .	154
<i>(Catena of Patristic Quotations.)</i>	

## CHAPTER IX.

THE WITNESS OF THE EASTERN CHURCH TO THE PRACTICE . . . . .	183
--	-----

## CHAPTER X.

THE OPINIONS OF NON-ROMAN CATHOLICS IN THE WEST UPON THIS PRACTICE . . . . .	195
---	-----

## CHAPTER XI.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION . . . . .	214
----------------------------------	-----

## APPENDIX.

THE SAINTS TRIUMPHANT AND THE SOULS EXPECTANT	229
---	-----

## ADDRESS TO THE READER

THE object with which I have written this book is to help in some degree that great longing for godly peace, unity, and concord which is so prevalent at the present time. This yearning is by no means confined to those who look for communion with the ancient Churches of Rome and of the East; it is warm in the hearts of many Churchmen towards our own English-speaking dissenting brethren, and is reciprocated by some of them. In other words, in these last days, when the foundations of our common faith are assailed, and when both Catholic and Protestant finds himself attacked by a common foe, the deadly enemy of unbelief, a feeling has arisen that if we were united, if the unity of the Mystical Body of Christ were only once again visible, as it has been always real, we should be able to make a much more

effective defence, and also to carry triumphantly and set up the banner of the Cross in the enemy's country. That the writer shares in these desires he need not assure his readers; that he looks for their immediate fulfilment, he sorrowfully, but yet emphatically, denies. The chasm made by centuries of misunderstanding cannot—except by a miracle—be closed up in a moment. In all our estrangement the greatest and most effective weapon used to first create and then widen the gap has been misrepresentation. Satan's great dart is always the same: it is lying. "He was a liar from the beginning," says our blessed Lord, "and the father of it." If the misrepresentations of the ancient doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church could be removed, and the prejudice raised by them cleared away from our minds, how little there would be left, comparatively speaking, for Protestants to object to! If all the bitterness and misrepresentation of the Church could be taken from the memory of Dissenters, how gladly many would return to the fold from whence they went out!

If, then, there is any hope that peace and unity are to be restored to the Church, it is

certain that the practical method of bringing it about is by our prayerful endeavour to clear up misunderstandings, and to correct misrepresentations. The appeal of the Holy Father<sup>1</sup> to pray for the unity of all the holy Churches of God has struck a chord of sympathy in many hearts. How many prayers have gone up to the throne of God from Anglican lips and hearts in answer to that invitation! How many sacrifices have been offered with that intention upon Anglican altars! But in this, as in all else, it is true that we must be "workers together with God." It is of very little avail to pray for unity and doctrinal agreement, and yet to take no steps to clear away the causes which originally produced, or which now are contributing to, the separation.

I think I need no excuse for quoting somewhat at large the words of the Archbishop of York, spoken in this very connection:—

"There is a saying, often quoted, of an eminent Roman Catholic Frenchman to the effect that 'if ever Christians are to approach one another, as everything invites them to do, it appears that the movement ought to proceed from the Church of

<sup>1</sup> Leo XIII., "*Letter to the English People.*"

England.’<sup>1</sup> If ever that anticipation is to be realized, we must be fully equipped and prepared for the task. We are apt to forget, while we criticize and condemn the errors and mistakes of others, that we ourselves may not be altogether free from defect. In our discussions and controversies with other religious communions we are tempted to think that all the truth is with us, and all the error with them. If Rome has erred in some directions, may we not have erred in others? The temptation of our peculiar position is to self-complacency, and to a tacit assumption that we have attained to a final settlement of belief and worship on the basis of the XXXIX. Articles and the Acts of Uniformity. The time may be approaching when we shall do wisely to review our position as to matters of secondary importance, and to do this in no spirit of faithlessness or fear, but with the earnest desire to rise to the highest

<sup>1</sup> No doubt the following from Comte de Maistre, *Considerations sur la France*, v. ii., is the passage referred to by the Archbishop:—

“Si jamais les Chrétiens se rapprochent, comme tout les y invite, il semble que la motion doit partir de l’Eglise d’Angleterre. . . . Elle, qui nous touche d’une main, touche de l’autre ceux que nous ne pouvons toucher ; et quoique sous un certain point de vue, elle soit en butte aux coups des deux partis, et qu’elle présente le spectacle un peu ridicule d’un révolté qui prêche l’obéissance, cependant elle est très précieuse sous d’autres aspects, et peut être considérée comme un de ces intermédiaires chimiques, capable de rapprocher des élémens inassociables de leur nature.”

level of Christian thought and Christian life in our day. There will be no need to disparage the Reformation, or to think lightly of the splendid protest of the sixteenth century on behalf of spiritual freedom and doctrinal purity. The Reformation was an event unparalleled in its influence upon the moral regeneration of Europe. But, after all, it was initiated and carried on by fallible men ; and in the storm and stress of the sixteenth century they may sometimes have mistaken their course, and, perhaps, cast out too hastily some of the precious lading of the ship.”<sup>1</sup>

In the pages that follow I shall ask the reader “to review our position ” as to the invocation of saints, which is admittedly a “matter of secondary importance,” with the “earnest desire to rise to the highest level of Christian thought,” which the Archbishop advises ; and possibly the result of such a reconsideration may be that we shall conclude that we have somewhat too rashly rejected and cast out a practice of the highest antiquity, of the most wide-reaching Catholicity, and one that is wholly in accordance with “the analogy of the faith.” But be the result what it may, I pray that this book, which is an honest attempt to clear

<sup>1</sup> Wm. D. Maclagan, Archbishop of York, *Sermon at Norwich Church Congress*, 1895.

away misrepresentations and misunderstandings upon a very serious point, may be blessed by God. While, naturally, I have addressed myself particularly to members of my own communion, yet I trust that my labours may be equally useful to my brethren of the different Protestant persuasions, who have often, especially in their hymns, followed more nearly the ancient models in referring to, and even addressing, the saints and angels, than have we of the Church of England. I also hope that any readers who are in the communion of the Roman or Greek Church, when they see the spirit in which I write, and appreciate that I am labouring for peace, will not resent my plain speaking with regard to corruptions and superstitions which have arisen in times past, which no doubt still—to some extent, at least—exist, and which have been deeply lamented and sorrowfully acknowledged both by Councils and by individual writers and theologians of high repute of their own communions.<sup>1</sup> In the following pages I have not thought it necessary to discuss the question of the place in which the saints now

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Card. Newman, *A Letter to Rev. E. B. Pusey*, pp. 93, *et seqq.*

are. All agree that that place is Paradise, and while it is true that there are some among us who, following the now for a long time discarded opinion of some early writers, draw a distinction between Heaven and Paradise, yet for the purposes of this discussion the difference of opinion is immaterial, since the arguments which are used do not depend exclusively, nor even chiefly, upon the fact of the saints now enjoying "the beatific vision of the Holy Trinity," nor of their being "all rapture through and through in God's most holy sight." This matter, too, is of the less moment, since there are some theologians of the Greek Church who entertain a similar opinion, and who yet are ardent defenders of the invocation of saints.

It cannot be too strongly dwelt upon that no part of the Church teaches that the practice of the invocation of the saints is in itself necessary to salvation. All that has ever been affirmed, even by the Roman Church, on the subject is the goodness and the utility of the practice. There are many good and useful practices which one may not feel called upon to adopt. The going on pilgrimages to holy places and shrines the many severe corporal austerities

practised by the primitive Christians—all were doubtless in themselves good and useful, but yet no one was ever found to teach that they were of universal obligation. In fact, that any practice should be in itself obligatory, it must have been imposed upon all the faithful by a divine command, *e.g.* fasting, prayer, receiving the Holy Communion. I say 'in itself obligatory,' because any practice may become obligatory and necessary to salvation, if it is imposed by a precept of the Church. But such a precept may be abrogated not only by direct decree, but also by tolerated non-user. Of course, to members of the Roman and Greek communions such invocation, when it occurs in the public services, is obligatory, but to us of the Anglican communion there is surely no such obligation. And for this the Church cannot be gravely faulted, for no one will pretend that the invocation of saints is a divine precept, or that by the authority of the universal Church it has been imposed upon all the faithful.

All this is true ; but it is also true that it can hardly be well to neglect what has been for so many centuries esteemed by all Christians as a great help in leading the Christian life, what has

been so praised by the saints, what has been so urged upon the faithful by the great doctors of the Church, what was the comfort and succour of our fathers during the bitter days of persecution. And if this is so, how rash and presumptuous it is to charge with superstition and idolatry those who now are within the veil, but from whom we have learned all we know of Christ ! Are we so much better, so much stronger, so much more enlightened than they, that we can afford to neglect any means which they found useful to attain their desires and to help their growth in grace ?

Notwithstanding, it is true that the practice of the invocation of the saints reigning with Christ is not in itself necessary to salvation, and therefore the Church of England, in not enforcing nor encouraging the practice, has not deprived her children of anything necessary to their salvation. From this it does not, by any means, follow that Anglicans are debarred from the private use of this practice, which is, as I shall hope to prove, so venerable, so helpful, so encouraging, and which has in so many myriad cases proved so useful.

We must not forget, however, that while the

practice is not of universal obligation, the acceptance of the doctrine on which the practice rests is, to wit, that after death the saints do not pass into an unconscious state resembling sleep, as some heretics have taught, but that they continue in a conscious existence, with their souls full of divine charity, that is, of love for God and for his friends and servants who are wrestling against the enemy in the Church on earth, that for these they pray with unceasing care, and that by these prayers the Church is much succoured and holpen. This, as will be shown, is the undoubted doctrine of Holy Scripture, of holy tradition, and of sound reason, and as such has been accepted by all parts of the Church in every age.

Such, then, being the case, it surely cannot be expected, nor should it be desired, that all the Churches of the whole world should abandon their practice, which they have received from their fathers from time out of mind, so as to conform to our use, which can derive no authority from antiquity, for which we can urge no continuous tradition, but which we ourselves have followed only since the Reformation. If ever there could be conceived of a

matter with regard to which reconsideration was required, it surely is this; and until we have given it such consideration in the calmer atmosphere of theological discussion which now prevails, and by the aid of our more accurate knowledge of the real opinions of the ancients, reunion with the rest of the West and with the Catholic East would appear to be quite impossible.

I have, therefore, thought that this subject should be laid before the English reader in his own tongue that he might know the real facts of the case. And if, after reading the following pages, some prejudices are removed, some misapprehensions cleared up, some ignorance enlightened, the great object so dear to the heart of every Christian, and to the heart of our blessed Lord, will have been advanced, and that day hastened of which speaks the worthy prelate, already quoted :—

“An eminent Pope of the seventeenth century declared that his predecessors in the Papal chair were responsible for the loss of England. We may well hope that the day will come when another Pope will have the glory and honour of reconciling these two great branches of the Catholic Church.”



## CHAPTER I.

### WHAT THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS IS.

BY the invocation of saints, in Catholic theology, is meant the practice of asking the saints in glory to aid us by their prayers. This being our thesis, we shall proceed to treat of each part of it at length.

In the first place, it must be observed that the invocation of saints is a practice, and not a doctrine. This distinction is most important. A doctrine of the faith is something which has been revealed by Almighty God at or before Pentecost, something which may not have been defined by the Church until the occasion for such definition came, but something which always was held and believed by the faithful. For example, the Nicene Council did not make the consubstantial Divinity of the incarnate Son to be of faith for the first time, nor did it make

## 2      *The Invocation of Saints.*

the contrary doctrine of Arius or that of the Semi-Arians to be error. The doctrine affirmed by Nice had always been of faith in the Church, and the denial of it had always been heresy. The faithful had always believed that the Son was of the same substance with the Father. All that the council did was to declare that truth anew, and to impose upon the Church a nomenclature to express that truth, viz. the word *homousion* (*consubstantialis*). This expression before the decree of the council could have been rejected without heresy, but the doctrine which the council intended to express by this word was always in possession, the undoubted doctrine of Christians, to which the Fathers of the council gave their witness. The same was really the case in the matter of the Monothelite heresy. Here, indeed, at first sight it would seem as if, until the matter had been closed by the council of Constantinople, either the doctrine of two wills or of one will in Christ might have been held without any opposition to the faith, but a little study of the matter, and thought, will show that such was not the case. There was a perfect agreement between all the faithful as to the fact, the only

question was as to the expression of that fact. It was difficult to decide whether a human will which was so conformed to and subject to the Divine will as always to agree with it, should be styled one theandric will, or whether there were, notwithstanding the conformity, two wills ; the council has settled the point of nomenclature for us, and we acknowledge two wills and two operations, but our faith is unchanged. Moreover, we are told that even afterwards, with what remained of the Monothelites their heresy was only verbal, and not real. Be this as it may, the point that we wish to establish is—that a doctrine, to be of faith, must have been revealed by Almighty God, and be a part of that sacred deposit once for all delivered to the saints.

Of every doctrine, then, we should be able to find clear traces in every age of the Church, and if there is any doctrine of which no traces are found in antiquity, this alone is sufficient to create a strong suspicion, at least, that such doctrine is no part of the faith, and that it is at best but a probable pious opinion, or a thesis of the schools. It may be well to illustrate this by an example or two. The doctrine of the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff

has, in our opinion, no trace in primitive antiquity. The same may be said also of the doctrine of his universal jurisdiction and supremacy as being *jure divino*—a doctrine which, as we read history, is distinctly inconsistent with the actions of the councils until the fifth century at least. And this is so conspicuously the case, that Vincenzi, in his book “*De Hebraorum et Christianorum Sacra Monarchia et de Infallibili in utroque Magisterio*,” declares that the canons, as we have them, of some of the councils must have been tampered with, as they are in manifest contrariety with the decrees of the Vatican Council, ignoring as they do the Pontifical power and prerogatives.<sup>1</sup> The doctrine of Solafideanism and imputed merit will be found to be in the same category, as also the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, etc.

But while a lack of primitive witness is fatal to the *de fide* character of a doctrine, it is in no way injurious to the character of a practice. A doctrine can never be new; a practice may be of yesterday: a doctrine can never change;

<sup>1</sup> The reader is referred to Fr. Puller's admirable book, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*.

a practice may change from time to time, as expediency shall suggest. Of course it is true that many practices rest upon doctrines for their foundations, and these foundations must be well authenticated, if the practice is to be approved or tolerated. While, then, the universal acceptance of a doctrine is a proof of its truth, since the Lord has promised that the Church shall not err in dogma, but shall always be a true teacher, so that he that heareth her, heareth her Lord, no such promise has ever been made with regard to practices; and a practice which has been universal even for a long time may be erroneous and faulty. It must, however, be remembered that most of the practices of the Church have been introduced and adopted by the saints, and by those dear to God, and that, therefore, to reject or condemn such practices would be highly rash and presumptuous. And here we may well recall the words of St. Paulinus of Nola, "an author," says Petavius, "of great weight:" "We should be guided by the mouth of all the faithful, for the Spirit of God breathes upon every faithful man."<sup>1</sup> That it

<sup>1</sup> "Ut de omnium fidelium ore pendeamus: quia in omnem fidelem Spiritus Dei spirat" (Ep. 4).

## 6      *The Invocation of Saints.*

may be clear to the mind of the reader that the proposition I am defending is in accordance with the teaching of Western theologians of our own time, I quote Veron in this connection. He says—

“Though St. Austin’s well-known principle is most sound and just, that ‘when the Universal Church has adopted any practice, it is the height of folly and madness to call in question the lawfulness of such practice;’ still, it does not follow, as a necessary consequence from this principle, that the Church, in embracing that practice, propounds an article of faith to the belief of the faithful. It is enough for a practice to appear good, for her to adopt it; and a merely probable opinion is a sufficient ground for admitting it as good. Hence, as I before observed, the Church is justified in altering even practices universally received. These observances, as they are merely recommended, or rather prescribed, may be changed; but articles of faith can never under any circumstances vary, because truth is ever the same.”<sup>1</sup>

This whole matter is most admirably expressed, in connection with this very practice of the invocation of the saints, by good old Bishop Forbes of Edinburgh, in his “*Considerationes Modestæ*,” when, after quoting Cardinal Du

<sup>1</sup> Veron, *Rule of the Catholic Faith*, ch. i. § 4.

Perron as saying "that in the Fathers who were most close to the age of the apostles, no trace whatever of this custom of invoking the saints is found," he adds—

"But yet, we are not on this ground to reject or condemn that addressing the angels and saints in our prayers, of which we have been speaking. For it is well known that many lawful and useful rites were brought into the Church by the Fathers and councils of subsequent centuries, especially the fourth and fifth, of which we do not read anything in the writers of the preceding centuries. For the Church of the fourth century had the same right to institute lawful and useful ceremonies as the three which were before it. No one in his senses will deny this."<sup>1</sup>

Thus wrote a bishop of the Anglican Church in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Provided, then, that the doctrine upon which the practice rests is free from suspicion of heresy, the recent origin of a practice is no argument against its usefulness, nor against its genuine catholicity, since this last will depend upon the unanimity with which it is accepted by the Church throughout the world. And here we may well cite the express words of

<sup>1</sup> *Considerationes Modestæ*, capp. 3-7; Anglo. Cath. Lib., vol. ii. pp. 237, 239.

Article XXXIV., which was drawn up in opposition to the doctrine (attributed to Calvin, and to the extreme teachers of the Genevan school), that only such practices were to be tolerated as were expressly ordered in Holy Scripture.

“It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men’s manners, so that nothing be ordained against God’s Word. Whosoever, through his private judgment, willingly and purposely, doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that others may fear to do the like), as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.”

It will be noticed that here we have two classes of things treated of—“traditions,” that is to say, customs and practices, and “ceremonies.” Now, these last, the Article declares, may be “ordained, changed, and abolished” by “every particular or national Church.” By this sentence, the *Jus Liturgicum* is maintained to be still vested in the episcopate of any country, and

not in the supreme pontiff alone. But while the Article declares that "the traditions of the Church" "may be changed," it is most careful to exclude them from the authority of the "particular or national Church,"—as will be seen by comparing the former part of the Article with the last paragraph, which reads as follows :—

"Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish Ceremonies or Rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying."

Nor is this a mere theory with us, but has been reduced to practice, and that in matters of the most awful importance, even touching the integrity of the sacraments, in many of which cases we have abandoned the ancient practice of those ages nearest to Christ and his apostles, and have followed practices and traditions of more recent date. A few examples may not be amiss.

Public baptism by immersion was the universal practice of the Church for the first ten centuries, and is still the custom of the East. In the middle of the third century we find an African bishop even doubtful whether persons baptized clinically on account of illness with only affusion

could be considered Christians at all (*legitimi Christiani*);<sup>1</sup> and St. Thomas tells us that in his time, the thirteenth century, baptism by immersion was still the more usual practice (*communior usus*).<sup>2</sup> And yet the practice which we follow almost without exception is one of late origin, but resting upon a sound theological basis, viz. that the element, not the quantity of the water, is the essential matter in baptizing a person. Another example of change of practice is with regard to the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. The Primitive Church, and indeed the whole of the Eastern Church down to to-day, followed the practice of administering the Holy Communion to all infants after their baptism and chrismation. This practice we have abandoned in the West, and have adopted another practice which has no authority in antiquity whatever, viz. the deferring of admission to Communion until years of discretion are attained. In connection with this matter, we may mention our present practice of postponing confirmation until children are over seven years of age, which is altogether a new practice, and utterly at variance

<sup>1</sup> Cyprian., *Ep. ad Magnum*.

<sup>2</sup> S. Thomas, *Summa*, iii. 66. 7.

with the ancient practice of the whole Church, and with the present practice of the Eastern Churches, which still follow the ancient practice, while we expressly declare that in order that this sacrament—

“may be ministered to the more edifying of such as shall receive it, the Church hath thought good to order, That none hereafter shall be confirmed, but such as can say the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments; and can also answer to such other questions as in the short Catechism are contained,”

thus adopting a Western practice, of which there is not so much as a trace in early times. We kneel in prayer by the express command of the Church, and that upon the Lord’s day, and yet this practice, prescribed by the Church to-day, is in direct violation of the Canon of the Council of Nice, and thus ecumenical authority is set aside by local and modern practice. And we may go one step further still, and find the prohibition of the eating “of things strangled and of blood”—a prohibition resting on no less an authority than the holy apostles assembled in council at Jerusalem—entirely ignored and reversed by a subsequent practice. Other instances

might be readily given, but these will suffice. The reader will please note that in each of these cases there is not only a lack of evidence that the practices followed have been practices of the Church from the beginning, but a positive certainty that they are directly opposite and entirely in contrariety with the universal practice of the early Church, which did not so much as know of such practices. And yet this lack of evidence of antiquity, and this lack of agreement with what we do know of the practices of the Church for long centuries, does not constitute—as we have seen—any necessary argument against the usefulness and desirability of such practices. In each of these cases the new practice rests upon a sound theological basis, and therefore is itself good and useful (*bonum et utile*).

From these instances we see how important the distinction between doctrines and practices is; for had these been doctrines with such a history, we should have been forced to have rejected them all as not being matters of faith, and as probably false by reason of their seeming opposition to the Catholic faith of old; but, being only practices, they may be changed, added to, or abrogated, as the Church sees fit.

A lack of the observance of this distinction is largely the groundwork of a book by the late Cardinal Newman, "The Development of Christian Doctrine," in which practices and doctrines are jumbled together in such a way as to show either the lack of grasp of this distinction, or the disingenuousness of the writer.

The invocation of saints is, then, a practice, and a practice which no one will deny was universal among all Christians for certainly eleven hundred years. It is true—as we shall see presently—that we cannot trace this practice to the apostolic or even sub-apostolic times, and yet it is one of the most venerable practices of the Christian Church, in comparison with which many of the practices to-day approved of all men are but as of yesterday. To disregard and condemn a practice with such a history there must be strong reasons indeed; and nothing less than the demonstration that the doctrine upon which the practice rests is false could be sufficient to excuse so rash an action.

Now, what is the underlying doctrine of the invocation of saints? It is nothing more nor less than one of the articles of the Apostles' Creed—that article which is one of the most

neglected among ourselves, the article "The Communion of Saints." The practice of the invocation of the saints does not necessitate any particular doctrine of their state or condition, far less does it involve any opinion that the saints can read the heart, or hear our prayers, or even know anything about us and our present needs. All that the practice necessarily implies is, that it is good for us to desire the prayers of the saints ; and this desire springs from our knowledge of their holiness and of their being "with the Lord." It may be that these invocations are mere apostrophes, such as those in the *Benedicite, omnia opera* ; but even so, the practice would be "good and useful" (*bonum et utile*), which is absolutely all that is defined upon the matter even by the Roman Church. For nineteen hundred years the whole Christian Church has called upon seas and floods, and ice and cold, and sun and moon, without the least idea that these inanimate objects could hear the addresses made to them. What, then, was the usefulness of such addresses ? How could it be "good" for any one to make them ? How much wiser to spend the time in calling upon the Father, the Son, and

the Holy Ghost, who we know both can and will hear, than upon creatures most of whom we know cannot hear what we say. But while such an argument may sound wise in the ears of men, it has not been, and is not, in accordance with the mind of the Church. This long list of apostrophes in the Benedicite the Church considers as an act of homage to Almighty God, whose glorious creatures they are. And just so when the Church says the Litany of the Saints, she does so that she may glorify God in his works, the most glorious and perfect of which are his Blessed Mother and the other saints. Even, then, if the "angels of the Lord," if the "powers of the Lord," if the "spirits and souls of the righteous" are as incapable of hearing as the seas, and the trees, and the lightnings, yet it must be "good and useful to invoke" them, else the three holy children would not have done so, nor would the Church have sung their song throughout the ages as an act of praise to God. Just so, the Litany of the Saints—whether they can hear or no—is a high act of praise to God, and as such is "good and useful."

But there is another ground on which the

use of the Benedicite is "good and useful." It is this—the effect it produces upon ourselves. As we call upon the creatures, dumb and inanimate, and animate but without reason, to praise God, we are constantly reminded that we are the crown and glory of that creation, and that our duty to praise and bless God is still greater than theirs. Just so in the Litany of the Saints, as we call upon all those blessed ones who have been faithful unto death and now have received the crown of life, to pray for us, we are moved with the thought of our duty to follow them in all virtuous and godly living, that we may come to those unspeakable joys which they already have entered upon; and so, remembering our place in the communion of saints, as we call upon them to pray, we pray the better ourselves, excited by their holy example.

Bishop William Forbes tells us that the "author of the 'Examen Pacifique' and the author of the book 'De Traditionibus Catholicis'" (books which I have never consulted) says—

"that, according to the belief of the Eastern Church, the invocation of saints is neither repugnant to the

Scriptures nor even fond and useless, even though the saints do not learn all our addresses. Nay, he affirms that this rite has been received by the Universal Church from a remote period. See also the end of the treatise, where he decides that this controversy, especially as it lies between the Oriental Church and Protestants, is merely a question of words.”<sup>1</sup>

The same statement with regard to the opinion of the Eastern Church is made by the Presbyterian writer, Edward Masson, in his “Apology for the Greek Church,” where we read as follows:—

“The belief and practice of the Greeks have been much misrepresented in regard to the salutation of pictures and the invocation of saints. The lively fancy of nations of the East, exemplified in their usages, ancient and modern, must be taken into consideration by Protestants who desire to form a correct notion of their sentiments on these subjects. Whoever has been present at the last salutation—*τελευταῖος ἀπασμὸς*—of the dead before interment, or who has listened to the touching extemporaneous effusions which are addressed, not only to a corpse, but even to a suit of clothes, or other memorial of one who has died at a distance, must have perceived how natural

<sup>1</sup> Forbes, *Of the Invocation of Saints and Angels*, ch. iv. *ad fin.*

it is for Greeks to employ personifications and apostrophes.

“The Greeks distinctly hold that the spirits of the departed are not conscious of the thoughts or words of the living. Accordingly, their invocation of saints, when really felt, is equivalent to a mere apostrophe, the spontaneous language of emotion, addressed to an object absent or inanimate.”<sup>1</sup>

The practice, then, rests upon nothing but our knowledge that the saints are holy and are with Christ, and our desire that they would pray for us to him in the communion of saints. This being the case, the practice *in itself* must be good and useful, and as such has been ever urged by the saints upon the faithful.

It will be noticed that I have said “in itself” the practice is good and useful, because it is possible that such a practice may accidentally become depraved and corrupted, and thus evil and injurious. Now, should such be the case, such a practice could be, and should be, laid aside, provided it was impossible to remove the abuse and leave the use in its purity. In the year 1549 it was evidently the mind of those who were responsible for the compiling and

<sup>1</sup> Masson, *Apology for the Greek Church* (London, 1844), pt. i. p. 30.

translating of the Prayer-book, that the only way to be sure of avoiding corruption, and the superstition consequent thereupon, was by omitting all invocations whatever. Looking back upon that time from to-day, we may think their opinion was not well founded, and yet perhaps they were better judges of the danger than we can be. Moreover, it must be remembered that most probably some of those very reformers had themselves been victims of these very superstitions, and therefore they dreaded the fire, having experienced its heat. At all events, much as we may, and should, lament their action, we cannot consider it any reflection upon the use of the Catholic Church, since such invocations in the set formulas of the Church are admittedly of late introduction ; nor necessarily any reflection upon the practice itself, for it may have meant, and probably did mean, nothing more than that, being a thing which all admitted had been very gravely abused, and a thing which many therefore desired should be abandoned altogether, the Church no longer was willing to make its use obligatory, which it would be were it to occur in the offices of the Prayer-book.

All, then, that can be justly concluded from the omission of invocation of saints from the Prayer-book, is that the Church does not any longer force the use of such invocations upon her clergy or people; but no necessary conclusion can be drawn therefrom that she discourages, far less disapproves of, the use of such invocations in their private devotions; and it was through private use for long years that invocations eventually crept into the public office, and it must be remembered that to the present day they have not found their way into the Missal of the Roman Church.<sup>1</sup> The English Reformation may well be considered as having relegated these invocations to their ancient place, and such action on the part of a national Church might be quite justifiable under certain circumstances. Whether sufficiently grave dangers did exist or no, it is certain that those responsible for the omission of these invocations considered them to exist, and therefore, in the internal *forum*, were justified in doing as they did. Nor can this Church be held to be anti-catholic because she has preferred to

<sup>1</sup> Of course an apparent exception to this is the Litany; but this really is no part of the Missal.

continue the use of the early ages rather than run any risk, even an imaginary one, of falling back into corruption. However, we think, here may well be cited the clever answer of the Easterns to the "British Bishops:"—

"We may here fairly cry out with David, 'They were in fear where no fear was;' . . . for we do not pay them [the saints] the same honour that is due to the King alone, but such as is proper for the friends of the King. Nevertheless, if this offend you, you may forbear saying 'Holy Mother of God, help us,' and, instead of it, you may say, 'O merciful and Almighty Lord, assist us by the intercessions of thy spotless Mother, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and all thy saints.'"<sup>1</sup>

As, then, the practice of the invocation of saints cannot be considered as condemned by the Anglican Church merely from the fact that such invocations have been, and still are, lacking from her office-book, it will be well next to examine what she does say with regard to that universal and venerable practice. This we shall proceed to treat of in the next chapter.

<sup>1</sup> *Correspondence between Easterns and British Bishops*, answer to prop. ii.

## CHAPTER II.

### ON "THE ROMISH DOCTRINE CONCERNING INVOCATION OF SAINTS."

WHEN we come to a consideration of what is the teaching to-day of the Church of England upon the subject of the invocation of saints, we find that with regard to the *practice* she says, in her "Articles of Religion," absolutely nothing, but faults a certain doctrine upon the subject which she ascribes to persons whom she terms "Romanenses," an expression which perhaps would find its modern equivalent in "Ultramontanes." We must, then, devote our attention to a most careful study of Article XXII., which reads as follows :—

"The Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration, as well of Images as of Relics, and also invocation of Saints, is

a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God."

Now, to the careless reader, it might seem that the Article declared that "invocation of saints is a fond thing vainly invented," etc., and, indeed, an early and well-known commentator upon the Articles, Thomas Rogers, fell into this very error, and heads the section treating of this point in the Article, "5. Proposition. Invocation of saints is a fond thing, not warranted by the Holy Scriptures, nor consonant, but contrary unto the same."<sup>1</sup> A careful reading of the Article, however, will show that no such "proposition" can be deduced from it, for the expression, "invocation of Saints," is not in the nominative case, the subject of the verb "is," but is governed by the preposition "concerning," as is evident from the Latin, which is as follows, "*Doctrina Romanensium de purgatorio, . . . necnon de invocatione sanctorum,*" etc. The real proposition, therefore, which is made in Article XXII. is

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Rogers, *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion, Professed, and Protected in the Realme of England, and Dominions of the same.*

that a doctrine of certain people called "Romanenses,"<sup>1</sup> "concerning invocation of saints is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather [*immo* in the Latin] repugnant to the Word of God."

It should be noticed, also, that in 1552, when this Article first appeared among the forty-two of that date which were "agreed upon by the bishops and other learned and godly men" "in Convocation," the doctrine condemned was attributed to the schoolmen, reading in the English version, "the doctrine of school-authors concerning," etc., and in the Latin, "*Scholasticorum doctrina de Purgatorio*," etc. Moreover, in this last the doctrine was said to "perniciously contradict" Holy Scripture (*immo Verbo Dei perniciose contradicit*). It is evident that these changes were made deliberately for two purposes—firstly, to make the condemnation less severe; and secondly, to show that it was not the doctrine of the schoolmen in general that was condemned, but only that of certain of them who might be looked upon as extremists.

<sup>1</sup> Hardwick, *History of the XXXIX. Articles*, says that "the words 'Romanensis' and 'Romanistæ' were already used as far back as 1520, by Luther and Ulrich von Hutton, to designate the *extreme* Mediæval party" (p. 389).

I have had occasion to point out in another place<sup>1</sup> that the use of the expression "concerning" seems to imply that there is a sound doctrine concerning the matter, and that it is only the erroneous doctrine which is condemned. No one would think of saying "the opinion of St. Clement concerning the phoenix is false," since there is no phoenix to have a true opinion about.

We may, then, sum up what we have been saying by asserting that the Article of Religion is absolutely silent with regard to the practice of invoking the saints, but that it condemns a certain doctrine concerning this practice, as resting upon no good foundation, "but rather repugnant to the Word of God," while it most carefully abstains from saying that even this erroneous doctrine is idolatrous or injurious to the majesty of God.

It will be well to compare this statement of our Article with those made in different Protestant Confessions, that its studied moderation may be the more apparent.

"The Second Helvetic Confession," 1566, says, in ch. v.—

<sup>1</sup> *A Digest of Theology*, p. 231.

“We neither venerate, nor revere, nor invoke the saints, neither do we recognize them as intercessors nor mediators for us with the Father.”

“The French Confession of Faith,” 1559—

“We believe that all that men have imagined with regard to the intercession of the dead saints is only an abuse and deceit of Satan, to lead men astray from praying aright.”

The corresponding one of the Irish Articles of Religion of 1615, which are a Protestant improvement of the XXXIX. Articles of the Church of England, reads thus :—

“The doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning . . . Invocation of Saints is vainly invented without all warrant of Holy Scripture, yea, and is contrary unto the same.”

This, of course, is perfectly clear, and can refer to nothing but the official doctrinal teaching of the Roman Church, to wit, the decree of Trent, upon the subject,—the one thing our Article is so careful to make no reference to whatever.

And, lastly, to show how unsatisfactory the wording of our Article is to the real Protestants of to-day, we quote the form in which it stands

in the Articles of the "Reformed Episcopal Church." In Art. XXXI. we find as follows :—

"The adoration of relics and images, and the invocation of Saints, besides that they are grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, are idolatrous practices, dishonouring to God, and compromising the mediatorship of Christ."

Such, then, is what would have been found in our Articles had it been intended that the doctrine and practice of the Church of England upon the matter of invocation of saints should have been the same as that of the Protestant world. But there is one other point we must consider before passing to a search as to what "the Romish doctrine" at that time was, which is condemned by the Article.

The expunging of all invocation from the Prayer-book must be taken into account. This is much dwelt upon, and the argument is put somewhat thus. It is urged, and no doubt with very considerable apparent justice, that had the reformers approved of invoking the saints, they would not have dropped all such invocations from the office-book, and that such omission could only come from a disapproval of the thing omitted. And with regard to the Article, they

say, it is mere shuffling to pretend that there are two doctrines "concerning invocation of saints," the one "Romish" and the other Catholic; that such an idea is a mere *deus ex machinâ*, and is unworthy of any honest interpreter.

I think I have fairly stated the case, and the arguments of the opponent. But suppose it could be shown that a book was issued about the same date as the Prayer-book, a book from which all invocations were omitted, and that yet we have the author's own confession that he approved of the practice, would not this be a perfect answer to the first argument?

And if the same author drew the distinction between two kinds of invocation, the one of which he approved, and the other of which he abhorred, would not this be a satisfactory answer to the second argument? Now, as a matter of fact, we have just such a book, by an author who has himself explained to us his view of the matter. The author to whom I refer, had set forth an "English Primer," from which the invocation of the saints had been omitted. Now, it might be argued that the author disapproved of such invocations altogether. But such was

*not* the case, for a short while afterwards—in A.D. 1535, *i.e.* within fourteen years of the issue of the first English Prayer-book—he got out another edition with the invocations restored, and, in “A Preface” to the Litany, he says—

“I take God to witness, I did not [omit the invocations] of any perverse mind or opinion, thinking that our Blessed Lady and holy Saints might in no wise be prayed unto ; but rather because I was not ignorant of the wicked opinion and vain superstitious manner that divers and many persons have not only used in worshipping of them : but also thinking that God by Christ would none otherwise gladly hear and accept their petitions and prayers, but by his Blessed Mother and saints,” etc. etc.

Now, from this, two things are evident : first, that he did not disapprove of the practice of invoking the saints in itself ; second, that he so much detested “the Romish doctrine concerning invocation of saints,” that, for fear lest it might be encouraged, he had omitted invocations altogether. But, he continues—

“For the contentation of such weak minds, and somewhat to bear their infirmities, I have now, at this my second edition of the said Primer, caused the Litany to be printed and put into the same, trusting that they, by their old untrue opinion before

alleged, nor yet by any other like, will abuse the same."

It only remains now to discover what this "Romish doctrine," this *doctrina Romanensium* "concerning invocation of saints," is,—this doctrine which Article XXII. declares to be "a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God,"—a doctrine which the author of the English primer regrets as giving rise to "infinite errors, and perilous prayers, slanderous both to God and to all his holy saints, to the great deceit of the people, and the utter destruction of their souls," while calling God to witness that he believes the true Catholic doctrine concerning the invocation of saints.

We think we have proved that the idea of there being a pure doctrine of invocation of saints as well as a corrupt one was familiar to the English reformers, and we have shown that it was acted upon by a liturgical writer of that period. Historically, therefore, it is certain that in the first half of the sixteenth century there was a well-recognized doctrine concerning the invocation of saints which was still accepted ;

and that, besides this, there was a doctrine which might well be deemed corrupt, and which was styled *doctrina Romanensium*—a doctrine which was entirely rejected. This, then, is sufficient to acquit those commentators who have thus interpreted Article XXII. of the charge of having invented a distinction to suit their own purposes and to evacuate the Article of its true meaning ; and, moreover, it is enough to show that such is the only historical interpretation of the Article.

This point, of the recognized distinction, at the time the Article was written, between a sound and a corrupt doctrine concerning the invocation of saints, is so important, that I think no apology is needed for illustrating the matter more at large from the writer just referred to. No doubt some reader will ask, What was the corrupt doctrine of the Romanenses ? Before proceeding to consider this at length, I shall quote the editor of the primer, and let him give an illustration of what he meant.

“As for an example. What vanity is promised in the superscription or title before *Osecro te, Domina Sancta Maria* [I beseech, O Lady Saint Mary], where it is written that whosoever saith that prayer daily

before the image, called the image of our Lady of Pity, shall see the visage of our most blessed Lady, and be warned both of the day and also of the hour of his death, before he depart out of this world! I pray you, what fondness, or rather madness, is this?"

The reader will notice that our author here uses the very word "fondness" which occurs in the Article. We continue to quote the editor of the English primer's "Admonition to the Reader."

"Yea, I pray you, why might not a man smell a little idolatry here, in that that there appeareth in this title a certain respect, a reverence, more to one image than to another? . . . Yet must this prayer be appointed to be said before the image of our Lady of Pity, in a manifest and open token and sign of a peculiar honour and reverence to be done to the same image or picture. Yea, and what reverence? Forsooth all and the same reverence every wit that followeth in the prayer. Which I think can none otherwise be interpreted, some part of it, than the most highest blasphemy and shameful villainy that can be devised to the merits of the most precious death and blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ, as to these words, *Via errantium, salus et spes in te sperantium, fons misericordiæ, fons salutis et gratiæ, etc.* In the which words of the Latin they ascribe unto our blessed Lady, that she is the right way of

them that err and be out of the way, the salvation and hope of them that trust ['hope' in the Latin] in her, the fountain of mercy, the fountain of health, salvation, grace, and favour, and so forth. And as to go about to excuse it and other like prayers with such foolish fantastical glosses as I have heard, it will not be. For there be other words enough following in the same prayer most blasphemous, and evidently declaring the meaning of these words, than that any goodness may be found and taken out of them."

We may not agree with the writer in thinking it impossible to attach a tolerable sense to these words, but of the undesirability of such expressions we can entertain no doubt, and that the author considered them as setting forth "the Romish doctrine concerning invocation of saints" is *clarius luce*. The writer next refers to the *Ave rosa sine spinis*, as follows:—

"But the most fondness and madness of all is, that they make our Lady to give and deliver the said prayer by revelation, and that at the time of the same revelation it was written with letters of gold in her breast. Oh Almighty God! who did ever hear tell of such blindness! And yet is nothing said to it, nor yet hitherto any convocations have been holden to call in or to forbid and inhibit such blasphemous slanders both against God and also our blessed Lady."

“ I omit also the shame, rebuke, and slander done unto the redemption which we have in Jesus Christ, commonly comprised in all collects of saints, and some of their anthems and versicles, as *Tu per Thomæ sanguinem*, *Salve Regina Mater misericordiæ*, and *Tu qui beatum Nicolaum*, with such other, almost innumerable. Than the which, what Antichrist, yea, what devil in hell could devise anything more pestilent, heretical, or more to the diminishing, reproach, subversion, destruction, and villainous treading under foot, and trampling out of the most holy and blessed blood of our sweet Saviour and eternal Mediator and Bishop, Jesu Christ, the only Sufficient price, Satisfaction, reconciliation, full contentation, pain, and payment of and for our sins, yea, and for the sins of all the whole world, that unfeignedly trust therein, and even of all the saints that be in heaven ? ”

Let this be sufficient to show to the reader what the author of the “ Prymer ” thought of “ the Romish doctrine concerning invocation of saints ; ” and we now turn to the Litany, which he places in his primer, for the use of those who hold, with himself, the Catholic doctrine concerning the matter.

“ God the Father of heavens,	} have mercy on us.
God the redelector of this world,	
God the Holy Ghost,	
The Holy Trinity in one Godhead,	

Saint Mary, perpetual Virgin and Mother of Christ, S. Michael, S. Gabriel, S. Raphael,	}	pray for us.
--	---	-----------------

All holy Angels and Archangels, pray ye for us.

S. John Baptist, pray for us.

All holy patriarchs and prophets, pray ye for us.

S. Peter, S. Paul,	}	pray for us.
-----------------------	---	--------------

[Then follow the Apostles].

All holy Apostles and Evangelists, All holy disciples and innocents,	}	pray ye for us.
---	---	--------------------

S. Stephen, S. Linus, S. Cletus, S. Clement, S. Cyprian, S. Erasmus, S. Edmund, king and confessor, S. George, All holy Martyrs, S. Edward, king, S. Jerome, S. Austin, S. Ambrose, S. Gregory, S. Bernard, S. Bede,	}	pray for us.
---	---	--------------

S. Chrysostom,  
 S. Alban, King and first Martyr of England,  
 S. Martin, bishop,  
 S. Antony,  
 S. Nicholas,  
 S. Benedict,  
 S. Francis,  
 All holy confessors,  
 All holy monks and confessors,  
 S. Mary Magdalene,  
 S. Anne,  
 S. Katherine,  
 S. Margaret,  
 S. Helen,  
 S. Lucia,  
 S. Cecilia,  
 S. Agnes,  
 All holy Virgins,  
 All holy Widows,  
 All Saints,  
 Be merciful to us, and spare us, Lord.  
 Be merciful to us, and deliver us, Lord.  
 From all sin deliver us, Lord.

Pray for us.

&c., &c., &c.”<sup>1</sup>

We come now to a consideration more in detail of what this “Romish doctrine concerning invocation of saints” was; and, first, let me

<sup>1</sup> *Three Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII.*  
 Edited by Edward Burton. (Oxford, 1834.)

clearly state that the Roman Church has shown herself most anxious to remove this "Romish doctrine," and to restore the practice to its first purity. In the Twenty-fifth Session of the Council of Trent, holden in 1563—that is, eleven years after the setting forth of this Article in its first form, and one year after its adoption in its present form (a fact which shows that the article cannot possibly be looked upon as drawn up to condemn the decree of Trent, since at that time it as yet had no existence), the Fathers decreed as follows:—

"Moreover, let every superstition in connection with invoking the saints be done away. Let all base questionings be cut off. Finally, let all lasciviousness be avoided" (Dec. De Purgatorio).

It is, then, not denied by the Church of Rome that, at the time of the Reformation, there were abuses with regard to the invocation of saints which needed reformation, and we have the contemporaneous record of some of these.

1. A prevalent "Romish doctrine" seems to have been that the saints were given by God particular departments to have under their special care. To this we find allusion in the

"Articles about Religion, set out by the Convocation" in the year 1536, where we read that—

"it is very laudable to pray to saints in heaven everlastingly-living, whose charity is ever permanent, to be intercessors and to pray for us and with us unto Almighty God. . . . So that it be done without any vain superstition as to think that any saint is more merciful or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any saint doth serve for one thing more than other, or is patron of the same." <sup>1</sup>

The following, from Rogers' commentary, will give some idea of the superstition aimed at.

"Therefore the Romish doctrine that saints are to be prayed unto, and their daily praying, as occasion serveth, unto St. Agatha, that have sore breasts; unto St. Benedict, that either be or scare to be poisoned; unto St. Clare, for them that have sore eyes; St. Damien, that be sick, for health; St. Erasmus, for help in the entrails; St. Feriol, for geese; St. Giles, for women that would have children; St. Hubert, for dogs; St. Job, for them which have the pox; St. Katherine, for knowledge; St. Loys, for horses; St. Margaret, for women in travail; St. Nicholas, for little children; St. Otilia, for the headache; St. Petronilla, for the ague; St. Quintin, for the cough; St. Ruffinus, for lunacy or madness;

<sup>1</sup> *Formularies of Faith*, p. 15, edit. by Chas. Lloyd (Oxford, 1856).

St. Sebastian, for the plague ; St. Thomas Becket, for sinners ; St. Valentine, for the falling sickness ; St. Winifrid, for virginity ; St. X, or Cross, for all things : it is in vain, not warrantable by God's word, but altogether repugnant to the Holy Scriptures." <sup>1</sup>

2. A second "Romish doctrine" seems to have been, that certain prayers to the saints were only acceptable if offered before certain images. This has been already referred to in connection with the editor of the "English Primer."

3. A third fault, which, indeed, is now satisfactorily explained by the Roman theologians, especially by Cardinal Bellarmine, but which, no doubt, gave rise to most deadly error and superstition, as popularly understood, was the asking of the saints for things which God alone could give or do. This "Romish doctrine" is explicitly condemned in "The Institution of a Christian Man," a book set forth by the authority of the bishops, so much prized that it was known as "The Bishops' Book," and which was read to the people by the injunctions of several of the bishops, notably of Bonner, Bishop of London—

"Item : That every of you do procure and provide

<sup>1</sup> Rogers, *On the Articles*, in loc.

for your own, a book called 'The Institution of a Christian Man,' otherwise called 'The Bishops' Book,' and that ye and every of you do exercise yourselves in the same, according to such precepts as hath been given heretofore or hereafter to be given."<sup>1</sup>

We proceed now to quote from "The Exposition of the Third Commandment," given in "The Bishops' Book."

"Forasmuch as the gifts of health of body, health of soul, forgiveness of sins, the gift of grace, or life everlasting, and such others, be the gifts of God and cannot be given but by God, whosoever maketh invocation of saints for these gifts, praying to them for any of the said gifts or such like (which cannot be given but by God only), yieldeth the glory of God to his creatures, contrary to this commandment. For God saith by his prophet, 'I will not yield my glory to any other.' Therefore they that so pray to saints for these gifts as though they could give them, or be the givers of them, transgress this commandment, yielding to the creature the honour of God. Nevertheless, to pray to saints to be intercessors with us and for us to our Lord for our suits which we make to him, and for such things as we can obtain of none but of him, so that we make no

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, *Conc. M. B.*, 3. 864

invocation of them, is lawful and allowed by the Catholic Church." <sup>1</sup>

It will be noticed that the authors of the "Institution of a Christian Man" did not consider that "praying to the saints to be intercessors" was any "invocation of them" at all, and, while saying, "O Saint Paul, pray for us," they would have denied that in so doing they had made any invocation of him. It is most important to remember this in considering other statements made afterwards by the same authors.

Before passing to another corrupt doctrine, it will be well to quote the "Catechism of the Council of Trent," to show how entirely the Roman Catholic teaching agrees in doctrine, although not in expression, with the reformed statement of the Church of England just quoted. Of course it will be remembered that the Tridentine Catechism possesses no binding force, and was not set forth as a definition of doctrine by the council, but was prepared, in obedience to a command of the council, by theologians of approved excellence ; and as, in some respects,

<sup>1</sup> *Formularies of Faith*, p. 141 (Lloyd). Cf. "Erudition of a Christian Man," *ibid.*, pp. 304, 305.

it was more antagonistic to the Protestants than the decrees which the Fathers of the council were willing to adopt, its evidence on this point is all the more valuable,—in fact, it might, without exaggeration, be looked upon as the Romanenses correcting and reforming their own “Romish doctrine.”

In ch. vi., “To whom we should pray,” in the middle of the answer to Question II. we find as follows:—

“To remove all error on the part of the unlettered, it will be advantageous to explain to the faithful the different kinds of invocation.

“Question III. *God and the saints addressed differently.*

“We do not implore aid from God and from the saints in the same manner; for we beg God to grant us the blessings which we want, or to deliver us from evils; but the saints, because favourites with God, we solicit to undertake our advocacy with God, to obtain of him for us these things of which we stand in need. Hence we employ two different forms of prayer: when we pray to God, we properly say, ‘Have mercy upon us, and hear us;’ but when to the saints, ‘Pray for us.’”

Further down, under Question IV., we read—

“It is most strictly incumbent upon all to beware

lest they transfer to any creature the right which belongs exclusively to the Deity."<sup>1</sup>

4. A fourth error seems to have been the supposing that the saints were more merciful than our Lord. To this reference is made in the Second Book of Homilies, in the second part of the "Sermon concerning Prayer," as follows:—

"Shall we think that the saints are more merciful in hearing sinners than God? . . . Let us not, therefore, anything mistrust his goodness; let us not fear to come before the throne of his mercy; let us not seek the aid and help of saints: but let us come boldly ourselves, nothing doubting but God for Christ's sake, in whom he is well pleased, will hear us without a spokesman, and accomplish our desire in all such things as shall be agreeable to his most holy will.<sup>2</sup> So saith St. Chrysostom, an ancient doctor of

<sup>1</sup> I used as a basis of the translation *The Catechism of the Council of Trent*, translated by T. A. Buckley (London, 1852).

<sup>2</sup> The reference given in the margin is *Chrysos. vj. Hom. de Profect. Evang.*, and the learned editor of the edition published under the auspices of the Syndics of the University of Cambridge, the Rev. G. E. Corrie, D.D., prints the passage in § 11 of the Benedictine edition, iii. 307 A [Gaume, iii. 368 A] as the one intended, to wit: "Thou hast no need of a patron with God, nor of much circumlocution, and flattering of others; but even if thou be destitute and deserted, thou thyself, calling upon God for thine own account, wilt be altogether successful." I cite further, "For God is not accustomed to grant the prayers of others made for us, as he is to answer our own made for ourselves, even if we be weighed down by innumerable evils."

the Church, and so must we stedfastly believe, not because he saith it, but much more because it is the doctrine of our Saviour Christ himself, etc.”

Now, I think it clear that the object of the author of this sermon was to draw away people altogether from invocation of every kind, and therefore he condemned what was manifestly an abuse in the expectation that, when the abuse was discontinued, the use would be laid aside as well. And yet, while I think this was his mind, he does not wish to depart, at least apparently, from the teaching of the saints and doctors of the Church, and therefore makes the words of St. Chrysostom his own. This is a most important point, because these same words of St. Chrysostom's have been urged by ultra-Protestants as showing that that great saint disapproved of, and condemned the asking of the saints for their prayers altogether. The reader will be better satisfied, if, therefore, I present the matter in the words of the famous German Protestant philosopher Leibnitz, in his well-known book, “A System of Theology.” He says—

“Since he [Christ] invites us, it is our duty to obey

and approach to him ; lest, instead of filial humility, there grow up a spirit of servile estrangement and distrust. Hence the admirable sentiment of Chrysostom regarding the Canaanite woman, ‘ Behold the prudence of the woman ! she asketh not James, neither entreateth she John ; she goeth not to Peter ; she addresseth herself not to the choir of the apostles ; ’ —that is to say, she goes not to them (for we are bound, from other passages, to put this interpretation upon Chrysostom) in such a way as to rest finally upon them, or to place her hopes in them alone ; for it appears elsewhere that she was importunate with the disciples also, as even they themselves declare [St. Matt. xv. 23, “ And his disciples came and besought him, saying, Send her away, for she crieth after us ”]. Chrysostom continues, ‘ She sought not a mediator ; but, instead of all these, she took, as her companion, repentance, which filled the place of an advocate, and thus went to the fountain-head.’ <sup>1</sup> It is necessary, therefore, always to bear these things in mind, in order that, if the intercession of saints be employed, it may be regarded in the light of a supplementary devotion, and of a simple mark of our reverence and humility towards God, and love for God’s friends ; and that the substance of the worship may always be addressed directly to God himself.” <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benedictine edit., iii. 435 [Gaume, iii. 519].

<sup>2</sup> Godfrey William von Leibnitz, *A System of Theology*, p. 83. I have followed, changing only one word, the translation by the Rev. Dr. Russell (London, 1850).

Thus far the Lutheran Leibnitz. Now, I wish to call the reader's attention to the fact that in each of these cases the saint makes reference to the woman of Canaan. This he does also in another passage in his Homilies on Genesis,<sup>1</sup> where he brings in the same woman as a proof of his proposition, and that proposition is neatly stated, in the margin, by the Benedictine editors, to be, "We reap more profit from our own prayers than from those which are offered by others for us."<sup>2</sup> This is a fair summing up of the whole discussion of the saint upon the subject, and no doubt his object was not wholly diverse from that of the author of the "Homily concerning Prayer," and was to encourage his hearers to go "boldly to the throne of grace;" and yet he in no way condemned the invocation of the saints, nor lightly esteemed the usefulness of their intercessions, for in this same connection, and in the sermon last quoted, on the very page before, he says—

"Beloved, let us flee to the prayers of the saints, and let us pray them to intercede for us;" he adds,

<sup>1</sup> Benedictine edit., iv. 450 [Gaume, iv. 520].

<sup>2</sup> "Non tantum perficimus per alios orantes, quantum pro nos ipsos" (Benedict. edit., iv. p. 452).

however, immediately, "but let us not trust to their prayers alone, but let us so order our conversation aright, that we may give an opportunity for their prayers to be effectual."

It is evident, then, to encourage men to pray directly to God rather than to the saints is quite consistent with a firm faith in the true doctrine upon which the invocation of saints rests, and with an approval of the practice of their invocation. I have dwelt upon this more at length than might seem necessary, to illustrate how important it is in this matter to have the whole context before one before he can draw a true conclusion as to the meaning of an author. We shall consider the opinion of another great Father, St. Augustine, in what follows.

5. A fifth error, and this will be the last I shall mention, was the invoking of the saints with religious worship, so that faith was placed in the saint. The same homily just quoted speaks of this "Romish doctrine" at some length. We quote the most material passages.

"It followeth that we must call neither upon angels, nor yet upon saints, but only and solely upon God; as St. Paul doth write: 'How shall men call upon him in whom they have not believed?' So

that invocation or prayer may not be made without faith in him on whom they call; but that we must first believe in him, before we can make our prayers unto him, whereupon we must only and solely pray to God. For to say that we should believe in angel or saint, or in any other living creature, were more horrible blasphemy against God and his holy Word; neither ought this fancy to enter into the heart of any Christian man, because we are expressly taught, in the word of the Lord, only to repose our faith in the blessed Trinity."

It will be well to compare with this the statement of the Catechism of the Council of Trent with regard to the article of the Creed, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," where we are told that—

"with regard to the three Persons of the Holy Trinity, we believe them so as to place our faith *in* them; whereas here, the form of expression being changed, we profess to believe, not to believe *in*, the Holy Catholic Church, that by this difference of expression also we may distinguish God, the author of all things, from the things he has created," etc.

The author of the homily then goes on to explain that, by prayer, he does not mean asking a creature to pray for or with one, but the religious act of divine worship. He says—

“St. Augustine calleth it [*i.e.* prayer] ‘a lifting up of the mind to God; that is to say, an humble and lowly pouring out of the heart to God.’ Isidorus saith that ‘it is an affection of the heart, and not a labour of the lips.’ So that, by these places, true prayer doth consist, not so much in the outward sound and voice of words, as in the inward groaning and crying of the heart to God. Now then, is there any angel, any virgin, any patriarch or prophet among the dead that can understand or know the meaning of the heart?”

It will be useful, here, to quote the saying of Veron on this point: “It is not of faith that the saints in heaven hear the prayers of the living.”<sup>1</sup> And to this teaching of the admirable Curé de Charenton we may well add the testimony of the Eagle of Meaux:—

“When gentlemen of the reformed religion (so-called) object to us that, in addressing prayers to the saints and in honouring them as present all the world over, we attribute to them a kind of incomprehensibility, or, at least, a knowledge of the secrets of the heart, which, by so many places of Holy Scripture, it is manifest God reserves to himself alone, they do not sufficiently consider our position. . . . No Catholic ever thought that the saints of themselves knew our needs, nor even the desires for which we make

<sup>1</sup> Veron, *Rule of the Catholic Faith*, p. 81.

to them secret prayers. The Church is content to teach, with all antiquity, that these prayers are profitable to those who make them, whether the saints learn of them through the ministry of angels, . . . or whether God himself makes to them a particular revelation of our desires, or that they find them out in the Beatific Vision of his infinite Essence in which all things are contained. Thus it is evident that the Church has given no decision upon what means God employs for this end. But, whatever the means may be, it is always true that she never attributes to the creature the divine perfections.”<sup>1</sup>

From these passages it is evident that this “*doctrina Romanensium*” is not held by the Church of Rome, and is not only not a necessary part, but no part at all of the doctrine concerning the invocation of saints, as taught by the Catholic Church.

It is only fair to the author of the “Homily concerning Prayer” to say that he apparently makes his own the doctrine of St. Augustine upon the whole subject of the invocation of saints. He says—

“Many of the ancient Fathers greatly doubt whether they [*i.e.* the saints] know anything at all that is commonly done on earth. And albeit some

<sup>1</sup> Bossuet, *Exposition de la Doctrine de la l'Église Cath.*, iv.

think they do, yet St. Augustine, a doctor of great authority, and also antiquity, hath this opinion of them—that they know no more what we do on earth than we know what they do in heaven. . . . His mind, therefore, is this, not that we should put any religion in worshipping them, or praying unto them; but that we should honour them by following their virtuous and goodly life.<sup>1</sup> For, as he witnesseth in another place, ‘the martyrs and holy men in times past were wont, after their death, to be remembered and named of the priest at divine services, but never to be invocated or called upon.’ And why? ‘Because the priest,’ saith he, ‘is God’s priest, not theirs; whereby he is bound to call upon God, and not upon them.’”

This translation leaves much to be desired, and I translate the passage more literally, that its full meaning may be apparent.

“We have no temples for our martyrs as for gods, but memorials, as for dead men . . . who have overcome the world in the confession of his Name, are mentioned by name in their place and order; but they are not invoked by the priest when he offers the Sacrifice. For in sooth the Sacrifice is not offered to

<sup>1</sup> *De Vera Relig.*, c. 108, tom. i. 587, C. “Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum. . . . Honorandi ergo sunt propter imitationem non adorandi propter religionem.” It will be noticed the words “praying unto them” are not found.

them, although it be for their memorial ; for he is God's priest, not theirs."

The writer of the homily seems to have missed St. Augustine's meaning, which clearly is that the saints are not addressed in the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice ; but he intends to follow Augustine, and concludes as follows :—

"Thus you see that the authority both of the Scripture and also of Augustine doth not permit that we should pray unto them."

It will be well, then, to set forth St. Augustine's teaching upon the whole subject, as he is the "doctor of great authority and also antiquity," whom the homilist follows. This the reader will find in the chapter on the witness of antiquity ; and now I shall supply him with but two short passages. In speaking of the custom of burying near the bodies of the martyrs, he explains the object thus :—

"That upon recollection of the place in which are deposited the bodies of those they love, they should commend them by prayers to those same saints, who have as patrons taken them into their charge to aid them before the Lord."

And further on :—

"When, therefore, the mind recollects where the body of a very dear friend is buried, and at the same time a place venerable by the name of a martyr, to that same martyr doth it commend the soul in affection of heartfelt recollection and prayer." <sup>1</sup>

From these passages the reader can form some idea of St. Augustine's real teaching.

Surely no one can speak with more authority for the Church of Rome upon this whole subject than the learned and ultramontane theologian, Cardinal Bellarmine. In his treatment of this matter in his disputations with the Protestants, ch. xvii. of bk. i. is wholly devoted to the consideration of the question, "How the saints ought not to be invoked." The chapter is too long to quote *in extenso*, but I shall translate for the reader the most important parts, referring him for his further satisfaction to the original. Thus, then, speaks the champion of the Tridentine theology :—

"Now, that the truth in this matter may be manifest, we shall lay down and prove certain propositions. *First Proposition.* It is not lawful to seek from the saints that they, as authors of Divine benefits, should bestow upon us glory, or even any of the means of attaining

<sup>1</sup> August., *De Cura pro mortuis gerenda*, 6 [iv.]. [Gaume, tom. vi. 871.]

beatitude. . . . For in the first place this is proved from Scripture : 'The Lord shall give grace and worship' (Ps. lxxxiii. [lxxxiv.]). And again, in Ps. cxx. [cxxi.] we read, 'I have lift up mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my help. My help is from the Lord, who hath made heaven and earth.' . . .

"Secondly, this is proved from the use of the Church. For in the collects which are said at Mass, and in the office of the feast-days of saints, there is never any petition other than that these benefits should be granted to us by God at their prayers.

"In the third place, by reason. For the things of which we stand in need pass the power of the creature to bestow ; therefore, also, of the saints. Therefore we should seek nothing from the Saints except that they should by their prayers obtain for us from God such things as are useful.

"Fourthly, this is proved from Augustine, bk. viii. of the 'City of God,' and bk. xxii. ; also from Theodoret, bk. viii. 'To the Greeks,' where it is distinctly taught that the saints ought not to be invoked as gods, but as those who by their prayers can obtain their desires from God."

He then defends certain forms which seem to contradict this ruling, and declares the meaning to be sound, and the contradiction only verbal.

"*Second Proposition.* The saints are not our immediate intercessors with God, but whatever they ask

for us from God they ask it through Christ. . . . We invoke the saints for this purpose alone, that they may do what we do ourselves, because they can do it better and more effectively than we, and when they are associated with us we can pray better than when alone."

I think, then, having thus treated at length "the Romish doctrine concerning invocation of saints," and having shown that it is condemned by the council of Trent and by the theologians of the Roman Church, as well as by our own Articles of Religion and by the writings of our divines, I can do no better than close this chapter with an extract from a "Proposal for Catholic Communion, by a Minister of the Church of England," which was published in the last century (A. D. 1704), and which shows that the view of the subject set forth in the foregoing pages is no new invention of the Tractarians of this age.

"Question IV.—Whether there be not great abuses in the Church of Rome in relation to the saints by drawing the people from their due dependence on Christ, and by confiding so much in their intercession as to neglect the ways of repentance upon presumption of their prevailing prayers ?

“It is very likely there are many abuses of this kind ; but since these abuses are nowhere impressed on the members of that Church ; since they are not approved by her ; nay, since she has expressly recommended to the prelates to be watchful in taking away all superstition in the invocation of saints, and other abuses in keeping of their holy days ; since the Catechism, and other books published by authority, mention these very abuses, and condemn them with as much severity as any of our Church can possibly do—as may be seen in the ‘Spiritual Director,’ translated from the French (ch. xxiv.) ; and in the Catechism of the Four French Bishops (part vi. art. 2, less. 8), in which are set down the abuses to be avoided in the invocation of saints, and in the devotion to the Virgin Mary,—since, I say, the abuses, whatever they may be of this kind, are disapproved by the authority of that Church and her several pastors, these, according to our second rule, ought not to be made an objection against communion.”

“But whatever were or are the abuses of this practice in the Church of Rome, since they come so far towards us as to declare against all such abuses, and enjoin a reformation of them ; since they join with us in holding to the one mediator Jesus Christ ; since they absolutely declare to their people ‘it is absolutely necessary for them to place their whole confidence in Jesus Christ, because, as the Holy Scripture declares, there is no salvation by any other

but through him,' as it is taught in the Catechism of the Four Bishops now cited; since they ask of the saints in heaven to become petitioners together with them, as they claim the same of their brethren on earth, and with the same confidence in Jesus Christ, knowing that nothing can be obtained by the just in heaven or on earth, but through the mediation of his passion; since, I say, this doctrine is proposed with this moderation and with these restraints, the question is, whether under these terms there can be any hopes of accommodating it upon the consideration of a public peace?

"So far I have encouragement, that I find a learned and zealous prelate of our own Church, not only favouring but even approving it and pleading for it, viz. Bishop Montague of Chichester, and afterwards of Norwich."

"This prelate, writing professedly upon this subject, seems to approve this whole doctrine; and the only difficulty he makes in the practice is because he does not apprehend how the saints shall come to the knowledge of the petitions made to them. But since the Holy Scripture tells us that there is joy in heaven at the conversion of a sinner, which shows that saints or angels, though we cannot tell by what means, do certainly know it,—since I find St. Augustine moving the same difficulty, and confessing it above the reach of his judgment to know how the martyrs relieve those who call upon them,

and yet owning at the same time that they do certainly assist them, and do intercede for such as call upon them,—since this difficulty did not discourage the practice in his time of begging their prayers, nor render such practice useless, it may be hoped, notwithstanding the difficulty, there may be means found by those in authority for accommodating this point at present, and that while so eminent a prelate of our own Church went so far, and justified what he had writ against all opposers, it may be a motive for removing present objections, that so this point may not be an obstruction to that general peace which is so much desired.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *An Eirenicon of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 154, *et seqq.*, edit. by H. N. Oxenham (London, 1879).

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE DOCTRINAL AUTHORITY OF THE BOOKS OF HOMILIES.

SO far as I am aware of, no attempt has ever been made to determine the exact authority which the divers sermons contained in the First and Second Books of Homilies possess in the Church. The determination of this question is of primary interest in relation to many matters of doctrine and practice, and notably to this which we have now in hand.

As I have pointed out in the last chapter, the "Sermon Concerning Prayer" in the Second Book of Homilies contains what certainly appears to be, and what I am convinced was intended by the author to be, a condemnation of the practice of invoking the saints. It is possible that the author may not intend to condemn indiscriminately all invocation, but only

such as encroaches upon the Divine prerogatives by putting trust in the saints ; and that such was the case may haply be gathered from the passage in the second part of the Homily, already quoted.

Now, every Catholic theologian will agree that in God alone we must put our trust and faith, and, accordingly, it may be supposed that the Homily only condemns such invocation as springs from or leads to putting faith and trust in the creature instead of God. But it seems to me that the writer thought—quite erroneously—that all “invocation” of the saints and angels fell under that head. It may, however, be well to remind the reader that some writers of that time restricted the use of the word “invocation” to God ; and, while they would have said that they asked their fellow-men still living to pray for them, they would have denied with horror the charge that they invoked them or their aid or patronage. However it may be, I shall quote the pregnant passages, and the reader must judge. Nor is his conclusion of any importance to the argument, since I am not defending the Homilies, but pointing out their errors.

The author prefaces his observations on the

subject by remarking that there are "certain conditions" which must be found in the person to be prayed to, viz. (1) ability to help; (2) willingness to help; (3) ability to hear our prayers; (4) knowledge, superior to our own, of what we lack and how much help we need. He then continues—

"If these things be to be found in any other saving only God, then may we lawfully call upon some other besides God. But what man is so gross but he well understandeth that these things are only proper to him which is omnipotent and knoweth all things, even the very secrets of the heart, that is to say, only and to God alone?" (p. 326).

The author next considers whether—

"is there any angel, any virgin, any patriarch or prophet among the dead, that can understand or know the meaning of the heart?"

and answers it—as every Catholic would—in the negative, quoting St. Augustine to sustain him. The conclusion drawn is rather a *non sequitur*:—

"Thus you see that the authority, both of the Scripture and also of Augustine, doth not permit that we should pray unto them."

If, however, Augustine is really to be followed, "praying" is here used as the equivalent of "religious cultus."<sup>1</sup>

In further argument of the matter, we find that—

"if any will go about to prove it by the nature of charity, concluding that because they (the saints) did pray for men on earth, therefore they do much more the same now in heaven; then may it be said by the same reason, that as oft as we do weep on earth, they do also weep in heaven, because while they lived in this world it is most certain and sure they did so" (p. 330).

The author's mental and logical powers were evidently not of a strong character, and therefore we may hope that he failed to express himself clearly; but the following would seem to be incapable of being misunderstood:—

"But admit ["no man knoweth whether they do pray for us or no" (p. 339)] the saints do pray for us, yet do we not know how, whether specially for them which call upon them, or else generally for all men, wishing well to every man alike. If they pray specially for them which call upon them, then it is like they hear our prayer, and also know our hearts'

<sup>1</sup> Aug., *De Vera Relig.*, c. 108. *Opp.*, tom. i. col. 587, c.

desire (*sic*). Which thing <sup>1</sup> to be false, it is already proved, both by the Scriptures and also by the authority of Augustine " (p. 331).

After this comes the conclusion, which has been already quoted, and which is sound enough, though somewhat awkwardly expressed.

"Let us not therefore put our trust or confidence in the saints or martyrs that be dead. Let us not call upon them, nor desire help at their hands : but let us always lift up our hearts to God, in the name of his dear Son Christ, for whose sake as God hath promised to hear our prayer, so he will truly perform it. Invocation is a thing proper unto God, which, if we attribute unto the saints, it soundeth to their reproach, neither can they well bear it at our hands " (p. 331).

"Let us not anything mistrust his goodness ; let us not fear to come before the throne of his mercy ; let us not seek the aid and help of saints ; but let us come boldly ourselves, nothing doubting but God, for Christ's sake, in whom he is well pleased, will hear us without a spokesman, and accomplish our desire in all such things as shall be agreeable to his most holy will. So saith Chrysostom, an ancient doctor of

<sup>1</sup> This is characteristic of the style of argument of the whole Homily. The point he is treating of is "prayer," he drags in reading the heart, and then proceeds as if they were the same thing.

the Church, and so must we steadfastly believe, not because he saith it, but much more because it is the doctrine of our Saviour Christ himself," etc. (pp. 331, 332).

I now lay down a general proposition, which I shall proceed to prove, viz. :—

The doctrines taught and defended in the books of Homilies are not necessarily the doctrines of the Church of England, nor are the practices therein faulted necessarily condemned by the Church of England.

This thesis, I am confident, can be proved to be true, despite the fact that Article XXXV. reads as follows :—

“ART. XXXV. *Of the Homilies.*

“The Second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of *Edward the Sixth*; and therefore we judge them<sup>1</sup> to be read in Churches by the Ministers, diligently

<sup>1</sup> The word “them” (*eas*) refers to the “homilies,” and not, as might seem at first sight, to the two Books of Homilies. In fact, it is not clear whether any permission to read the homilies of the First Book is given at all.

and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people."

It certainly seems as if there was here a statement that the doctrines set forth in the two Books of Homilies were not only necessary for those times,—to wit, the period of the so-called reformation,—but that they were in themselves both "godly and wholesome," from which it would be natural to suppose that they were true.<sup>1</sup> But while this would seem to be the natural meaning of the Article according to the plain grammatical sense of the words, such is clearly not the historical meaning attaching to it, and this is surely a case in which the *expositio*

<sup>1</sup> The American Church has freed herself from any responsibility with regard to the truth of the doctrines, by adding to the Article, after the names of the homilies of the Second Book, the following words:—"This Article is received in this Church, so far as it declares the Books of Homilies to be an explication of Christian doctrine, and instructive in piety and morals. But all references to the constitution and laws of England are considered as inapplicable to the circumstances of this Church; which also suspends the order for the reading of said Homilies in churches, until a revision of them may be conveniently made, for the clearing of them, as well from obsolete words and phrases, as from the local references."] The instructiveness of the homilies is confined to "piety and morals," and no opinion is expressed with regard to them as "an explication of Christian doctrine." Exactly the same terms might be employed in speaking of the Augsburg or Westminster Confession.

*contemporanea* must be conclusive of the true sense. Such being the case, our first search must be to discover what has been held to be the true meaning of the Article by the most distinguished commentators.

The first commentary on the Articles of Religion is that by Thomas Rogers, written in 1584, twenty-two years after their adoption, the preface of which is addressed to Archbishop Bancroft, to whom the author was a chaplain. Rogers' witness is most distinct. He says :—

“Touching this Article [XXXV.] the greatest matter is, not whether these Homilies, meant and mentioned, do contain doctrine both godly, wholesome, and necessary, but whether Homilies, or any Apocrypha writings at all, may be read in the open Church, and before the congregation, which I think they may, and prove it thus.”

He further on enumerates “the errors and adversaries unto this truth,” and names “the Anabaptists and Family of Love,” “the Puritans of all sorts,” “the Brownists, Disciplinarians, and Sabbatarians.” Speaking of certain Puritans, he says :—

“They cry out, Remove Homilies, and they supplicate unto King James that the Canonical Scriptures

only may be read in the Church. And so, but much more bitterly and erroneously, the Sabbatarians: We damn ourselves (say they) if we go not from those ministers and churches where the Scriptures and Homilies only be read: and seek not unto the prophets," etc.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem clear from this what was understood at that time to be the animus of the Article, and it is certainly most noteworthy that he does not say one word in approval of the doctrine, etc., of the Homilies.

I now quote from one of the most interesting, if not, as I judge, the most interesting book ever written upon the Articles. Father Davenport, an English Franciscan, who had been a member of the English Church, but had studied at Douay, writing under the *nom de plume* of "Sancta Clara," set forth a "Paraphrastica Expositio Articulorum Confessionis Anglicanæ," dedicated to King Charles I., and avowedly written in the interests of the re-union of the Churches of England and Rome. Although every effort was made by English Roman Catholics to have

<sup>1</sup> *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion professed and protected in the Realm of England and Dominions of the same, expressed in XXXIX. Articles, etc.* (1633.) Cf. Fuller, *History*, bk. ix., an. 1584.

this book condemned at Rome—as they have opposed every attempt at reconciliation,—the Holy See then, as now, refused to be guided by their narrow counsels ; and although the efforts against the book and its author were most unceasing, Fr. Davenport continued to be held in the highest honour, was elected a third and even a fourth time English Provincial of the Franciscans, and was a chaplain to Queen Henrietta Maria, and, after the Restoration, a theologian and chief chaplain of Queen Catherine's. Moreover, Mr. Berington tells us that—

“Panzani omitted not to advise his Court to be cautious, and to compliment the king in favour of Mr. Davenport, as far as the case would admit.”<sup>1</sup>

The date of Sancta Clara's book was 1653. I shall reprint all of his remarks upon this point.

“There are many things in the Homilies worthy of all praise ; other matters neither please us nor the more learned among them. Nor are Protestants, because of these words in the Article, directly bound to hold every word or sentence in the Homilies ; for,

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Berington, *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, p. 168. (London, 1813.)

as was said long since by Turrecremata, when the Church herself approves the works of certain doctors, it is not therefore to be understood that everything contained in those works is approved, as in the Constitutions of the Sixth Synod the works of certain doctors were approved, as is read in the Decrees, dist. 15 ; but the synod did not approve every word and clause, as the doctors agree. This opinion, too, the Parisian doctors most exactly set forth in explaining the Bull of Urban V., approving the doctrine of St. Thomas, in which he wrote to those of Toulouse, that 'his doctrine ought to be held to be well expressed and Catholic. But the Parisians say that the approbation aforesaid is not universal, but implies that the doctrine is useful and in many things probable.' Those things therefore which savour of sound doctrine should prudently be read by the people, the rest should be neglected." <sup>1</sup>

I pass on now to consider two commentaries, both of great authority, and one of which held its position even down to our own times ; I need hardly say that I refer to that by Bishop Burnet, and that by Bishop Beveridge.

Taking the latter first, we find him beginning his discussion of Article XXXV. thus :—

<sup>1</sup> *Paraphrastica Expositio Articulorum Confessionis Anglicanæ*, pp. 83, 84, edit. F. G. Lee (London, 1865).

“To run through every particular homily here mentioned, and to confirm every particular expression therein contained, would . . . still be but a superfluous and needless work too; for it is not so much the homilies themselves that are to be read, as the reading of these homilies in public assemblies, that is the thing carped at; so that the principal thing here to be confirmed is, that it is lawful even in public meetings where the people of God are assembled to perform service and worship to him, to read other books, discourses, sermons, or homilies (for a homily and a sermon is all one) than what is expressly and word for word contained in the Holy Scriptures.”<sup>1</sup>

But of the doctrines and their obligation and truth he says nothing.

When we come to consider what Bishop Burnet says upon the subject, we find the traditional interpretation abandoned, and an attempt made to take the words of the Article in their natural meaning. After explaining that printed homilies were necessary because the clergy were ignorant and unfit to preach, he continues:—

“In these Homilies the Scriptures are often applied

<sup>1</sup> William Beveridge, *Ecclesia Anglicana Ecclesia Catholica, or The Doctrine of the Church of England consonant to Scripture, Reason, and Fathers, etc.*

as they were then understood ; not so critically as they have been explained since that time. But by this approbation of the two books of Homilies, it is not meant that every passage of Scripture, or argument that is made use of in them, is always convincing, or that every expression is so severely worded that it may not need a little correction or explanation ; all that we profess about them is only that they ‘ contain a godly and wholesome doctrine.’ This rather relates to the main importance and design of them, than to any passage in them. . . . Upon the whole matter, every one who subscribes the Articles ought to read them. . . . This approbation is not to be stretched so far as to carry in it a special assent to every particular in that whole volume ; but a man must be persuaded of the main of the doctrine that is taught in them.”<sup>1</sup>

Although it may be deemed out of place, as really adding nothing to the information of the reader, yet, as the book for some reason did commend itself and gain a reputation for accuracy and scholarship (which is most certainly undeserved), it shall be cited here. Bishop Harold Browne devotes two pages of his “Exposition” to Article XXXV., and I quote as follows :—

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Burnet, *An Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles of the Church of England.*

"It is not possible to prove the assertion that they contain a godly and wholesome doctrine without going through the whole book of Homilies and commenting on them all. All writers on the subject have agreed that the kind of assent which we are here called on to give them is general, not specific. We are not expected to express full concurrence with every statement or every exposition of Holy Scripture contained in them, but merely in the general to approve of them, as a body of sound and orthodox discourses, and well adapted for the times for which they were composed."<sup>1</sup>

We need not pause to remark upon the evil character of the times when such sermons could be not only profitable but "necessary," but proceed to show that, as theoretically there was never supposed to be any reason why those who subscribed the Articles should believe the doctrinal and other statements of the Book of Homilies, so practically they were not believed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edward Harold Browne, *An Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles, Historical and Doctrinal.*

<sup>2</sup> "If we are to be tied to the Homilies as to a Confession of Faith, we must believe in the divine right of kings, in the inspiration of the Apocrypha, in the benefit of a fish diet, in the anti-Christianity of the Pope, and in the binding authority of the example of the Early Church. Does any one man believe in all these things together?" (J. M. Neale, *Lectures on Church Difficulties*, p. 200.)

I quote now from Bishop Mountagu's "An Appeal to Cæsar," written about sixty years after the Articles were set forth.

"I willingly admit the *Homilies* as containing certain *godly* and *wholesome exhortations* to move the people to honour and worship Almighty God ; but not as the *public dogmatical resolutions* confirmed of the Church of England. The XXXIII. Article giveth them to contain *godly* and *wholesome Doctrine*, and *necessary for these times* : which they may do, though they have not *dogmatical positions*, or *doctrine* to be *propugned* and *subscribed* in all and every point ; as the Books of *Articles* and of *Common Prayer* have. They may seem, secondly, to speak somewhat too hardly, and stretch some sayings beyond the use and practice of the Church of *England*, both then and now : and yet what they speak may receive a fair, or at least a tolerable construction and mitigation enough."<sup>1</sup>

The good bishop seemed to entertain much the same opinion of them as did Queen Elizabeth, who for a long time delayed allowing them to be set forth, as we learn from a letter of Archbishop's Parker's.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Richard Mountagu, *Appello Cæsarem, a Just Appeal from Two Unjust Informers*, p. 260. (London, 1625.)

<sup>2</sup> Matthew Parker, *Correspondence*, p. 177. (Parker Society.)

The Church in her official capacity has shown her entire rejection of one most unmistakable declaration of the Homilies. In the second part of the Sermon for Whitsunday there is an attempted proof that the Church of Rome is not a "true Church," and among the reasons assigned for arriving at this conclusion is that in baptism "they hallow the water,"<sup>1</sup> and it is expressly declared that this and other things used by the ancient Church in baptism are—

"dumb ceremonies, serving to no use, contrary to the plain rule of St. Paul, who willeth all things to be done in the Church unto edification."

And yet this "dumb ceremony," contrary to Holy Scripture, and the presence of which is one proof of an apostate Church, was deliberately introduced into the Prayer-book at the last review in 1661, and has remained, despite its condemnation in the Homily, a necessary and obligatory part of the service of the Church of England for public baptism.

From this it is *luce clarius* that the Savoy divines had no idea that every statement of the

<sup>1</sup> *Certain Sermons appointed by the Queen's Majesty to be declared and read, etc.*, p. 466, edit. by G. E. Corrie.

Books of Homilies is in conformity with God's truth and with the doctrine of the Church of England. To sum up, then, what we have thus far shown: The approval or rejection of a doctrine or practice by one or more of the Homilies was not considered to affect the position of such doctrine or practice, so far as the Church of England is concerned, either by the great commentators upon the Articles, or by the clergy who lived near to the time of their first setting forth, or by Convocation at the last review of the Prayer-book, and we shall now proceed to show that their authority has not been considered conclusive by the law courts, either ecclesiastical or secular.

That prayer for the dead is most roundly condemned by the Homilies, no one can dispute. The homily "Concerning Prayer" says:—

"These words, as they confound the opinion of helping the dead by prayer, so they do," etc. And again, "Neither let us dream any more that the souls of the dead are anything at all holpen by our prayers." And still again, at the end of the same homily, "Let us not therefore dream either of purgatory, or of prayer for the souls of them that be dead." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Sermon concerning Prayer*, part iii.

These passages would seem to be clear enough, and the context makes their meaning clearer still, if possible, and yet the lawfulness of prayers for the dead in the Church of England has been affirmed by the Law Courts on more than one occasion. It is true that the homily nowhere says that it is wicked to pray for the dead, but only that it is useless and that it lacks all Scriptural authority. And yet I think that no one reading the homily can doubt that if it were a doctrinal standard of the Church, then the practice of praying for the dead is rejected. Now the whole matter came before the Arches Court in 1838, in the case of Breeks *versus* Woolfrey, when the dean, the Right Honourable Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, Knight, D.C.L., gave a long judgment, from which I make some extracts.

In answer to the argument of the plaintiffs, who cited Article XXXV. on "The Homilies," the learned judge says—

"And it is said, in the Seventh Homily, 'On Prayer,' the practice of praying for the dead is declared to be an erroneous doctrine ; and therefore as the Homilies are directed to be read in churches, for the edification of the people, it must be necessarily inferred that they

are forbidden and prohibited by the Church of England. Now, if this were clearly so, it would seem somewhat extraordinary that many divines of the Church should, in the face of these Articles and of the Homilies, have fallen into the error of believing the Church of England had not prohibited prayers for the dead, but merely discouraged them ; but it is still more extraordinary that, considering the violent disputes which occurred with respect to this point, there had been no express prohibition of the practices in the Articles of 1562. . . . But supposing he [the Homilist] had been of opinion that such prayers were unlawful, it is not to be necessarily inferred that the Church of England adopted every part of the doctrines contained in the Homilies. . . .

“ I am, then, of opinion, on the whole of the case, that the offence imputed by the articles has not been sustained ; that no authority or canon has been pointed out by which the practice of praying for the dead has been expressly prohibited, etc. . . . The Court, therefore, on this view of the case, is bound to reject the articles altogether, and to dismiss the party, and with costs.”<sup>1</sup>

I shall give one more instance. The Homilies condemn, not only the setting up, but the tolerating of any images of any kind ; and most

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* the judgment *in extenso*. F. G. Lee, *The Christian Doctrine of Prayers for the Departed*, Appendix XII.

heretically argue against the decree of the Seventh of the undisputed General Councils. For example, we read :—

“And our images also have been, and be, and if they be publicly suffered in churches and temples, ever will be also worshipped, and so idolatry committed to them.” Again, “Although it is now commonly said that they be the laymen’s books, yet we see they teach no good lessons, neither of God, nor of godliness, but all error and wickedness. Therefore, God by his word, as he forbiddeth any idols or images to be made or set up, so doth he command such as we find made and set up to be pulled down, broken, and destroyed.” Again, “Which place [2 Cor. vi. 14–16] enforceth both that we should not worship images, and that we should not have images in the temple for fear and occasion of worshipping them, though they be of themselves things indifferent.” So, too, in the second part of the same homily: “Do not you think those persons which place images and idols in churches and temples, yea, shrine them even over the Lord’s table, even as it were of purpose to the worshipping and honouring of them, taking good heed to either of St. John’s counsel or Tertullian’s?” One more quotation shall suffice: “Wherefore it is to be wondered how they can call images set up in churches and temples to no profit, or benefit of any, and to so great peril and danger, yea, hurt and destruction of many, or rather infinite, things indifferent. Is not the public

setting up of them rather a snare for all men, and the tempting of God?"<sup>1</sup>

Now nothing could be clearer than all this, and yet the courts, both ecclesiastical and secular, have on several occasions declared that images may be set up, provided there is no fear of improper veneration being paid to them, and this with regard to images in glass and painting and sculpture, not only in architectural enrichment, but "over the Lord's table," the very place condemned by the homily. I need not cite the decisions of the courts, but give the references, that the curious reader may satisfy himself if he so elects: "*Liddell v. Westerton*,"<sup>2</sup> "*Philpotts v. Boyd*,"<sup>3</sup> "*Riddell v. Clifton et al.*,"<sup>4</sup> and the late St. Paul's reredos case.<sup>5</sup>

In all these cases the same principle has been affirmed, viz. that crosses and other images "for

<sup>1</sup> *Homily on the Peril of Idolatry*, pp. 171, 177, 181, 183, 253.

<sup>2</sup> *Moore's Special Report*.

<sup>3</sup> *O.L.R. Pr. C. Ap.*, 435.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by W. F. Finlason (London, 1877).

<sup>5</sup> The famous case of the stained glass window for St. Margaret's, Westminster, which was heard in 1760, does not really touch the point, since the court ruled that a picture in glass was not an "image,"—a ruling that would have astonished the "reformers" of Edward's reign.

the purpose of decorating only" are lawful, despite the condemnation of the Homilies.

I flatter myself that the reader will consider that I have established the truth of my thesis, and that therefore it is a matter of no consequence what may be the teaching of the Books of Homilies touching the practice of the invocation of the saints.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE DOCTRINE UNDERLYING THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS.

THE famous Jesuit theologian Suarez, in speaking of the invocation of saints in answer to our own King James, says—

“On this point it is necessary to distinguish practice from faith, and use from what has been decreed. For although to some it may perhaps be sufficient for salvation to call upon God by Jesus Christ, without invoking the saints ; yet the invocation of Christ will not alone suffice, if a man believes or thinks wrongly about the invocation of the saints ; because by this belief he is constituted an obstinate heretic.”<sup>1</sup>

Now, I have already pointed out that, even of a Roman Catholic, bound by the decrees of the council of Trent, which he considers Ecumenical, the utmost that can be required as Catholic

<sup>1</sup> *Def. Fid. Cath. adv. Ang. Sectæ Errores*, lib. ii., cap. 9.

doctrine upon this subject is that it is good and useful to invoke the saints. And this much at least does seem to be demanded in consideration of the universality of the practice for so many centuries, by the great names of saints and theologians who have urged its efficacy, and by its unquestioned antiquity in the Church of God both East and West. In view of all this, we think that the Fathers of the council of Trent expressed themselves with great moderation and with perfect truth when they decreed as follows :—

“The Holy Synod commands all bishops, etc., diligently to instruct the faithful, teaching them that the saints reigning with Christ offer their prayers to God for men ; and that it is good and useful to invoke them as suppliants ; and to flee to their prayers, help, and assistance in order to obtain favours by prayer from God, through his son Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only Redeemer and Saviour. And they shall teach the people further, that the opinion is impious of those who deny that the saints enjoying eternal felicity in heaven should be invoked ; or which asserts either that they do not pray for men, or that their invocation is idolatrous even if they do pray for us, and that individually ; or that such invocation is repugnant to the Word of God, and

derogatory to the honour of the only mediator between God and man, Jesus Christ ; or who teach that it is silly (*stultum*) to pray vocally or mentally to those reigning in heaven.”<sup>1</sup>

As we have seen, the practice of their invocation does not necessarily imply a belief that the saints thus invoked do or can pray for us, for the invocations which we make may be only pious desires that if they can pray and can hear us they would pray for us. We say, does not “necessarily” imply such a belief ; for, as a matter of fact, such a practice would never have arisen unless there had been the firm belief that the saints did pray for us ; and this belief has been so universal that we may well take it as an article of Catholic faith, and as being contained in our profession in the Creed of belief in the Communion of Saints ; for while the saints may in other ways be in communion with us, in this their communion is most certain. In fact, this is so evident that I do not know that any have seriously denied that the saints in heaven do pray for their brethren of the Church militant here on earth. A distinction, however, has been drawn, and it has been said

<sup>1</sup> *Decreta SS. Conc. Trid.*, sessio xxv.

that the saints pray for us indeed, but not for us individually, but generally. As an example of this, I quote Richard Field, who was made Dean of Gloucester by King James in 1610; of whom Fuller said, "that learned divine whose memory smelleth like a *Field* the Lord hath blessed."<sup>1</sup> In the third book of his great work, entitled "Of the Church," he draws this distinction. In speaking of the saints, he says—

"We hold they do pray *in genere*."<sup>2</sup> "That the saints do pray for us *in genere*, desiring God to be merciful to us, and to do unto us whatsoever in any kind he knoweth needful for our good, there is no question made by us; and therefore this prayer wherein the Church desireth God to be gracious to her and to grant the things she desireth, the rather for that the saints in heaven also are suppliants for her, will not be found to contain any point of Romish doctrine disliked by us."<sup>3</sup>

The prayer which contains no "point of Romish doctrine disliked" by this very Protestant dean is found in the Roman Canon of the Mass, and reads as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> *Holy War*, bk. iv. ch. v.

<sup>2</sup> *Of the Church*, bk. iii. ch. xxxi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, bk. iii., appendix, vol. ii. p. 101.

“Communicating with and venerating the memory in the first place of the glorious ever-virgin Mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, as also of thy blessed apostles and martyrs, Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Systus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and all thy saints, by whose merits and at whose prayers do thou grant that in all things we may be protected by thy mighty aid, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.”

I have quoted this passage from Field to show how upon the subject of the praying of the saints for us, he—and the same is true of almost all of our Anglican writers and theologians—is in accord with the rest of Catholic Christendom. To be sure, in this prayer there is properly speaking no invocation of the saints, but only what has been called “comprecation,”—a method of prayer which has been approved of by most of our writers, as well as the Dean of Gloucester just quoted. Before leaving this matter I feel that the reader will thank me for calling his attention to what the same learned writer says with regard to the expression “merits of thy saints” in the same prayer. Of

this matter Field most admirably treats as follows :—

“ But they will say there is mention made in this prayer<sup>1</sup> of the merits of those holy apostles and martyrs; and the Church desireth God to grant her petitions for those merits, which is contrary to the doctrine of Protestants, that deny all merit properly so named, and therefore cannot but condemn the opinion of one man’s meriting for another.

“ For answer herewith we must observe, as Cassander rightly noteth, that there is no merit, properly so named, to be attributed to mortal and miserable men; and that though the ecclesiastical writers use the word merit, and when they speak of holy men’s works call them merits, yet they think them not to be properly so; but do so name the good actions of holy men that proceed from faith and the working of the Holy Ghost, because Almighty God, though they be his gifts and joined, in them by whom they are wrought, with defect and imperfection, yet is so pleased to accept of them out of his goodness, that he not only rewardeth the doers of them with ample and great rewards in their own persons, but so as to do good to others for their sakes. So God said to Abraham, if there were but fifty righteous in the city he would spare the whole city for their sakes. Neither only doth he good for their sakes whose

<sup>1</sup> *Memento Domine*, “ Quorum meritis precibusque concedas, etc.”

works he thus rewardeth while they live but even after they are dead also. And therefore God promiseth that he will protect Hierusalem for his own sake and for David his servant ; which he must be understood to do, not only in respect of the promise made unto him, but with respect had to his virtue ; according to the which we read, 1 Reg. xv. 3, that God left a little light in Hierusalem to Abijam, the son of Rehoboam, King of Judah, for David's sake, who did that which was right in the sight of the Lord. This David, saith Chrysostom,<sup>1</sup> did not only please God while he was in the body, but he is found to have yielded great comfort after his death, to such as he left behind him alive. The prophet Esay cometh to Hezekiah and saith unto him, I will defend this city for mine own sake and for David my servant's sake. David is dead, but his virtues that pleased God do still live. O strange thing ! O ineffable clemency ! A man long since dead patronizeth him that liveth.

“In this sense, then, it is that the Church desireth God to be gracious unto her, in granting her petitions for the merit of these his holiest ones that she remembereth, no way derogating from the merits of Christ, but putting a great difference between them and those of the saints ; for Christ's merit is the only price of our redemption, by which only we are redeemed from sin and eternal death ; and, being

<sup>1</sup> From the spurious *Chrysostom*, hom. ii. in Ps. l.

reconciled to God, are adopted to be sons and heirs of eternal life ; but the merits of the saints here mentioned are nothing but those imperfect good works which they did while they lived here, which God was pleased so to accept, that he promised not only to reward them with great and ample rewards in their own persons, but to do good for their sakes that did them to others also.

“ Bucer, speaking of the public prayers of the Church which we call Collects, in which the intercession and merits of saints are commemorated, hath these words : ‘ Seeing in these prayers, whatsoever is attributed to the intercession and merits of saints, all that is asked, not of the saints, but of our merciful God through Jesus Christ ; they that so pray, do thereby profess and testify, that they acknowledge that these things which they ask of God, by the intercession and for the merits of the saints, are the free gifts of God, etc.’ And a little after : ‘ We willingly acknowledge and publicly profess that God doth reward the works of his saints, not only in their own persons, but in those also that pertain unto them, and for whom they intercede ; for he hath promised to do good to a thousand generations, to them that love him and study to keep his commandments ; hence it was that he would not heal those of the house of Abimelech, till Abraham interceded and entreated for them ; and hence it was that God granted and gave the deliverance and salvation of all the people to

Moses when he entreated for the same.’<sup>1</sup> These are the words of Bucer, which not being contradicted by any of our profession, it is evident that no part of Romish religion disliked by us can be found out of this part of the Canon of the Mass.”<sup>2</sup>

After this somewhat lengthy digression, I return to the point in hand, to wit, that the saints in heaven do now pray for us. Although, as I have said, I am not aware that any writer of authority in the Church of England has ever denied that such is the case, at least *in genere*—which is all that is needed for the present discussion—yet, for the sake of the completeness of the treatment of the subject, since this is the only underlying doctrine which is of faith, I must set forth the matter somewhat at large, and the reader who is sufficiently informed on the subject can pass on to the next chapter.

The learned Thorndike, Prebendary of Westminster Abbey and one of the most famous divines of the Church of England, writing on this subject, says,—

“Neither is it to be doubted that the saints in happiness pray for the Church militant, and that they

<sup>1</sup> Cassander. *Consult. Artic. XXI.* [p. 969].

<sup>2</sup> *Of the Church*, appendix, bk. iii., vol. ii., pp. 101 *et seqq.*

have knowledge thereof; if they go not out like sparkles, and are kindled again when they resume their bodies, which I have showed our common Christianity allows not. For is it possible to imagine that, knowing anything (that is, knowing God and themselves), they should not know that God hath a Church in the world, upon the consummation whereof their consummation dependeth? Or is it possible that, knowing this, and being disposed towards this Church as they ought to be disposed towards it in respect to God, they should not intercede with God for the consummation of it, and the means thereof? Which is all we can desire.”<sup>1</sup>

This shall be sufficient to express the mind of Anglican writers on the point, and those who would read more can consult Bishops Pearson,<sup>2</sup> Andrews,<sup>3</sup> and Bull,<sup>4</sup>—as brilliant a trio as can be found among all our theologians.

It will be well for us first to examine what the Holy Scriptures say upon this subject; and here it will not be amiss to remind the reader that often a thing may be proved by Holy

<sup>1</sup> Thorndike, *Of the Laws of the Church*, bk. iii. § 16.

<sup>2</sup> Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. IX.

<sup>3</sup> Andrewes, *Resp. ad Bellarm.*, p. 47, ed. Oxford, 1851.

<sup>4</sup> Bull, *Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, sect. iii. (vol. i. p. 266).

Scripture to a Catholic which cannot be proved to a Protestant. The reason of this is evident. The Protestant has to look upon Holy Scripture as something complete in itself—to be taken in connection with nothing else, and to be interpreted by every individual as his spirituality and his learning shall suggest. The Catholic approaches Holy Scripture as a book the meaning of which is, and always has been, known; and therefore texts which, to the Protestant, have little or no bearing upon the subject, to the Catholic are often proof of the point at issue, because those texts have always been understood by the Church as being intended by their Divine Author to convey such or such a truth. This principle comes into force in the consideration of the present matter, for were it not that these texts had the *consensus patrum* for the interpretation the Church now puts upon them, I, for one, frankly confess that what is commonly called “the Scripture proof” would seem to me very meagre.

Catholic authors commonly cite the following texts from the Old Testament, and argue that if the Fathers not yet admitted to heaven could and did pray for the Church of God on

earth, much more do the saints do so now, being in paradise with God :—

“Then said the LORD unto me, Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be towards this people” (Jer. xv. 1).

“And this was his vision: That Onias, who had been high priest, a virtuous and a good man, revered in conversation, gentle in condition, well-spoken also, and exercised from a child in all points of virtue, holding up his hands prayed for the whole body of the Jews” (2 Mac. xv. 12).

And from the New Testament they cite the following :—

“And when he had taken the book, the four beasts and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints” (Rev. v. 8).

“Moreover, I will endeavour after my decease that you may be able to have these things always in remembrance”<sup>1</sup> (2 Pet. i. 15).

“Then he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my father’s house” (St. Luke xvi. 27).

“And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the original Greek.

avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" (Rev. vi. 10).

"Wherefore seeing we are also compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, etc. But ye are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect" (Heb. xii. 1, 22).

The reader is referred to "An Examination of the XXXIX. Articles," by the late Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, for an admirable consideration of the force of these texts; it will be found under Article XXII.<sup>1</sup> The list given above is taken from Cardinal Bellarmine's "*Quarta Controversia Generalis*,"<sup>2</sup> where the attempted answers of Calvin and others are refuted at length. To the mind of the writer the most weighty consideration with regard to these texts is the fact that, as early as the time of Origen, they were cited in proof of this very point, which shows that ours is the traditional and therefore the true interpretation of them.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 383, *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. cap. xviii.

As we shall show presently, this doctrine—that the saints in glory pray for those still upon earth—is an article of faith, since it answers the test of the Vincentian Canon, “everywhere, always, and by all,” and cannot be denied without heresy. First, however, we wish to make two preliminary remarks: 1st, the later Jews believed, and the present Jews still believe, that the Fathers gone before pray for the living on earth;<sup>1</sup> and 2nd, this doctrine follows as a logical necessity, from these premises, that the souls of the saints have a conscious existence, and that their charity is perfect. This much is surely revealed in Holy Scripture; for no one can deny that, from the Lord’s history of Lazarus and the rich man, it is evident that even the souls of the damned could pray for their brethren upon earth: and it would be a strange thing indeed that the saints now in glory should not have at least as conscious an existence as Abraham while still in Limbus, and could not pray as well as the souls of the lost in hell! Moreover, with regard to the perfect charity of the saints in glory there can

<sup>1</sup> Weber, *Altsynagog. Theol.*, p. 314. [*Cath. Dict.*, p. 741.]

be no doubt, nor has such a doubt ever been raised. And Origen truthfully says—

“But one of the principal virtues, according to the Divine word, is charity towards our neighbour, which we must needs think is felt by the departed saints towards those who are struggling in this life, more exceedingly than by those who are yet in human infirmity, and are struggling together with those who need aid.”<sup>1</sup>

When we add to the unanimous teaching of the Fathers and doctors of all times the express revelation of Almighty God as the Church has always gathered it from the texts already cited, especially from that in the Apocalypse where the twenty-four elders had “golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints,”<sup>2</sup> we must conclude that the doctrine that the saints in glory pray for their brethren still upon earth, is an article of the faith, contained in Holy Scripture, and part of the revelation of Almighty God.

We proceed now to show, by quotations from

<sup>1</sup> Origen, *De Orat.*, n. II, t. i. p. 214 [cited by Forbes, *Explanation of XXXIX. Articles*, vol. ii. p. 390].

<sup>2</sup> Apoc. v. 8.

the early writers, that such has been from the first the opinion of the Faithful upon the point.<sup>1</sup> The reader must not look to find here a full catena of all that the Fathers have said upon the subject. Such a long list would only be a source of weariness, and would be quite unnecessary to prove that which no well-informed person ever denied. I shall, then, pick out such salient passages as I shall suppose best to serve my purpose in showing the universality of the belief in the intercessions of the saints; and, before doing so, I may apply to the doctrine what Perrone with less truth applies to the invocation of saints.

“We omit the ecumenical councils of Chalcedon, III. Constantinople, and II. Nice; as well as the Leonine and Gelasian sacramentaries, and the Gothic and Frank missals, all of them most certain documentary evidence of the practice of the whole Church

<sup>1</sup> I need hardly say that the catena of authorities here given is not the result of any original research of the writer, but is merely a following of those who have done the work so perfectly that nothing can be added; especially our own two bishops, Forbes of Edinburgh and Forbes of Brechin. Of this last, I have freely used the excellent digest found in his *Explanation of the XXXIX. Articles*, to which I must acknowledge my great indebtedness.

in the fifth and sixth centuries, and still have most ancient witnesses of that pious Catholic custom.”<sup>1</sup>

I shall begin my quotations with some from the three great Church historians, Eusebius, Theodoret, and Sozomen. Eusebius, then, in narrating the events which happened during the reign of Septimius Severus, between the years 193 and 211, tells of the martyrdom of Potamiæna as follows :—

“She was led away to die by Basilides, one of the officers in the army. . . . Perceiving the man’s sympathy, she exhorts him to be of good cheer, for that after she was gone she would intercede for him with the Lord, and it would not be long before she would reward him for his kind deeds towards her. Saying this, she nobly sustained the issue.”<sup>2</sup>

And in another place, when speaking of Theodosia, he says that she came to the confessors in prison, “both out of kindness and, as is likely, to ask them to remember her when they came to the Lord.”<sup>3</sup>

In citing Theodoret, I have given the passage

<sup>1</sup> Perrone, *Prælectiones, Tract. de Cultu Sanct.*, cap. iii. prop. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *H. E.*, lib. vi. (ch. v. of Dr. Cruse’s translation).

<sup>3</sup> *De Martyr Palest.*, c. 7.

from Bishop Forbes of Brechin, together with his introductory remark.

“Yet more remarkable are the statements of Theodoret, both as being himself of a dry matter-of-fact mind, and in regard to the extent of the facts which he states. For, in refuting heathenism, he is contrasting the martyrs with all which the heathen held great, gods or men.”

He then quotes Theodoret as follows :—

“Time, which withereth all things, hath preserved their glory unwithered. For the noble souls of the victorious [martyrs] traverse heaven, forming part of the incorporeal chorus, but their bodies—it is not a single tomb that conceals each one of them, but cities and villages, having shared them between them, style them the Preservers both of soul and body, and healers, and honour them as tutelars and guardians ; and, employing them as intercessors with the Lord of all, by these means obtain divine gifts. And when the body is severed, the grace remains unsevered. And that small and tiniest relique hath the same power with the martyr who hath never been distributed. For the grace abounding distributeth the gifts.”<sup>1</sup>

Thorndike's editor also remarks that he ends every life in his “*Historia Religiosa*” with words asking for help from the prayers of the saints.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Græc. affect. curat.*, lib. viii., *De Martyr*.

<sup>2</sup> Thorndike, *Of the Laws of the Church*, bk. iii. § 30, p. 776.

The well-known writer Sozomen was born at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth, and certainly wrote his history in the first half of that century. The following quotations will show how deeply seated was the belief in the efficacy of the prayers of the saints.

In the twelfth chapter of the fifth book, he tells us that in the time of Julian the Apostate—

“the body of the martyr Babylas was removed to Daphne, and was subsequently conveyed elsewhere. Soon after it had been taken away, fire suddenly fell upon the temple of Apollo at Daphne, the roof and the statue of the god were burnt, and the naked walls with the columns alone escaped the conflagration. The Christians believed that the prayers of the martyr had drawn down fire from heaven upon the demon,” etc.

In speaking of the reign of Theodosius the Great, he tells us that, as the “Arians still retained possession of the Churches,” St. Gregory Nazianzen assembled the faithful “in a dwelling which had been altered into the form of a house of prayer.” This afterwards became the Church styled Anastasia.

“For the power of God was there manifested by

dreams, by visions, and by miraculous cures of divers diseases ; these miracles were usually attributed to the instrumentality of Mary the Holy Virgin, the Mother of God.”<sup>1</sup>

St. Anthony writes as follows :—

“The saints use much prayer and gladness in exultation before our Creator. The Maker, too, of all rejoices in our works, and on account of the witness of the saints gives us great spiritual gifts.”<sup>2</sup>

Nilus, in giving an account of the martyrdom of St. Theodotus, about the year of our Lord 303, says St. Theodotus bid the Christians—

“not to weep, but to glorify our Lord Jesus, who had enabled him to finish his course. For I shall be with confidence unceasingly interceding with God in heaven for you.”<sup>3</sup>

The same doctrine is found, at a still earlier date, in Origen. He says :—

“But not the High Priest [our Lord] alone prays with those who pray sincerely, but also the angels, who ‘joy in heaven over one sinner who repenteth more than over ninety and nine just persons who need

<sup>1</sup> Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. vii. cap. v.

<sup>2</sup> *Epist.*, v. n. i. ; in Gall. iv. 666.

<sup>3</sup> *Mart. St. Theod.*, n. 32 ; in Gall. iv. 128. [Migne, *Pat. Græc.*, tom. lxxix.]

no repentance,' and the souls of the saints who have fallen asleep before [us]." <sup>1</sup>

And again:—

"I so deem that all those Fathers who fell asleep before us fight with us and help us by their prayers. For so also did I hear one of the older masters saying." <sup>2</sup>

Moreover, he exhorts Ambrose not to fear martyrdom, for "then thou wilt love them with more perfect knowledge, and wilt pray for them with greater wisdom." <sup>3</sup>

The two following quotations will show all his mind on the subject:—

"Who doubts that all the Holy Fathers help us by their prayers." <sup>4</sup>

"It will not be wrong to say, that all the saints departed, retaining love for those who still are alive, take care, by their prayers and by their mediation with God, both of them and of their salvation." <sup>5</sup>

St. Cyril of Jerusalem says—

"We commemorate those who have fallen asleep

<sup>1</sup> *De Orat.*, n. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *In Lib. Jesu Nave.*, hom. 16, num. 5. [Migne, *Pat. Græc.*, tom. xii. col. 908.]

<sup>3</sup> *De Mart.*, n. 37, 38.

<sup>4</sup> *In Numb.*, hom. 26, n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *In Cant.*, iii. (Cant. ii. 4). [Migne, *Pat. Græc.*, tom. xiii. col. 160.]

before us, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that God, by their prayers and intercessions, may receive our petition.”<sup>1</sup>

And that the East may not lack the witness of its greatest saints and theologians, I quote St. Gregory of Nazianzum, and the Constantinopolitan fathers at Chalcedon.

St. Gregory Nazianzen, speaking of his father, says:—

“I am persuaded that he now [guards the flock] more effectually by his intercession, than he did formerly by his teaching, in proportion as he is now nearer to God.”<sup>2</sup>

The same doctrine is plainly contained in the following:—

“His [St. Basil’s] body is assigned to the tomb of his fathers, and he is joined, the high-priest to the priests, that grand voice (which still rings in my ears), to the preachers, the martyr to the martyrs; and now, indeed, he is in heaven, and there, as I think, is offering up sacrifices for us, and praying for the people; for, though he has left us, yet has he not utterly deserted us.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cat. Myst.*, v. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Orat.*, xviii., *Funeb. in patrem*. [Migne, *Patrol. Græc.*, tom. xxxv. 990.]

<sup>3</sup> *Orat.*, xliii., *In laud. Basilii*. [Migne, *Patrol. Græc.*, tom. xxvi. 602.]

Once again ; he says, " And now from heaven she [my mother, Nonna] greatly prays over our affairs." <sup>1</sup>

In the acts of the ecumenical council of Chalcedon, we read that the Constantinopolitan bishops cried out—

" Eternal be the memory of Flavian ! Eternal be the memory of the orthodox ! Flavian lives after death ! The martyr will pray for us," etc. <sup>2</sup>

We pass now to the West, and we find St. Cyprian suggesting to St. Cornelius that whichever were first martyred should not cease to pray for " our brethren and sisters, in the presence of the mercy of the Father." <sup>3</sup>

St. Jerome we next cite, saying, " Then [when thou art martyred] wilt thou pray for me too, who spurred thee on to conquer." <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Carminum*, lib. ii. lxxviii. [Migne, *Patrol. Græc.*, tom. xxxviii. 51, 52.]

<sup>2</sup> *Acta.*, xi. *L. and C.*, tom. iv. 698.

<sup>3</sup> *Epist.*, lvii. *fin.* [Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, tom. iii. 863.] Baluzius's note to this passage is : " I think that from this passage can be gathered that Cyprian believed that the saints in heaven pray for the living." The reader is also referred to the very valuable note which precedes the one just cited, and is numbered (68), a misprint for (98), in Migne's edition.

<sup>4</sup> *Epist. ad Heliodorum*, xiv. n. 3. [Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, tom. xxii. 348.]

"She [Blæsilla] prays to the Lord for thee [Paula], and impetrates for me (certain I am of her mind) the pardon of my sins."<sup>1</sup>

"He [Theodora's husband], already safe and triumphant, beholds thee from on high, and aids thee in thy efforts, and prepares thee a place near himself."<sup>2</sup>

St. Leo has the same doctrine :—

"But as we, too, experienced, and our ancestors have proved, we believe and are confident, amid all the toils of this life, that, to obtain the mercy of God, we shall ever be helped by the prayers of special patrons ; that in proportion as we are weighed down by our own sins, we may be raised by their Apostolic merits."<sup>3</sup>

And again, in speaking of St. Laurence, he says, "By whose prayer and patronage we trust that we are aided without ceasing."<sup>4</sup>

At the Council of Tours (A.D. 401) we read that the Fathers hoped that—

"the intercession of the holy and most blessed

<sup>1</sup> *Epist. ad Paulam*, xxxix., n. 6. [Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, tom. xxii., col. 473.]

<sup>2</sup> *Epist. ad Theod. Vid.*, lxxv. n. 2. [Migne, *ut supra*, col. 686.]

<sup>3</sup> *Serm.*, lxxxii., *In Nat. Apost. Pet. et Paul.*, ad fin. [Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, tom. liv. 428.]

<sup>4</sup> *Serm.*, lxxxv., *In Nat. S. Laurentii M.*, cap. iv., *fin.* [Migne, *ut supra*, col. 437.]

bishop, St. Martin, which is acceptable to God, will obtain, that the constitution of our humility may, by the mercy of the Lord's help, be preserved." <sup>1</sup>

And Sulpicius Severus, writing of the same St. Martin, says—

“For now he is numbered among the apostles and prophets.” “He will not be wanting to us, believe me, he will not be wanting; he will be with us when we are discoursing of him; he will stand by us when we are praying; and, what he has vouchsafed to us to-day, he will often let us see him in his glory [in dreams], and protect us with his continual blessing, as he did just now.”

“We have but one hope remaining, our only hope, our last hope, that what we cannot obtain through our own efforts, we may merit to obtain through the prayers which Martin offers for us.” <sup>2</sup>

I have reserved the teaching of St. Augustine to the last, because, as it appears to be adopted by the author of our Homily on the subject, it is well to set it forth more fully and perfectly.

Our own Thorndike thus sums up the teaching of St. Augustine, and I prefer quoting him rather than giving an estimate of my own, since

<sup>1</sup> *L. and C.*, tom. iv. col. 1052.

<sup>2</sup> *Epist.*, ii., *Ad Aurel. De Ob. et App. B. Mart.* [Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, tom. xx. 179, 180.]

he lived so near to the time of the writing of the homily which so strangely misrepresents it. He writes:—

“St. Augustine supposeth that Nebridius prayed for him being dead (‘Confess.,’ ix. 3<sup>m</sup>); and expects benefit from St. Cyprian’s prayers (‘De Bapt.,’ v. 17, vii. 1<sup>n</sup>). He said afore<sup>1</sup> that we are to be commended by the prayers of the martyrs. . . . And again (‘Contra. Faustum,’ xx. 21), the reason why they celebrated the memories of the saints, he assigns, that they ‘might be partners in their merits, and be helped by their prayers.’”<sup>2</sup>

To this most just and clear estimate of St. Augustine by the learned Thorndike, I shall add the admirable words of the Bishop of Brechin:—

“St. Augustine, in his beautiful ‘De Cura pro

<sup>1</sup> Thorndike, *Of the Laws of the Church*, bk. iii. ch. xxix. § 42. “‘Therefore the Church hath that discipline which the faithful know; when the martyrs are reckoned at God’s altar in that place, as not to pray for them but for others departed, who are reckoned; for it is an injury to pray for a martyr, by whose prayers we are to be commended.’ Thus St. Augustine. For the custom being that the saints departed were rehearsed in one place of the service, others in another place, he takes it to be the intent of the Church to give thanks for saints and martyrs, to pray for others.”

<sup>2</sup> Thorndike, *Of the Laws of the Church*, bk. iii. ch. xxxi. § 18. (*Anglo-Cath. Lib.*, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 766.)

Mortuiis' (c. iv., vi., p. 519), says that the benefit of burying their friends at the memorials of the saints was, that the living, 'recollecting where are the bodies of those whom they love, may commend them to the same saints or patrons.' At the second synod of Rome, A.D. 495, they exclaimed, 'Lord Peter, preserve him' (the Pope).

"But a far stronger impulse than the advice given by these revered Fathers or their practice, lay in the facts of those days. For apparently (and, in face of the evidence, we cannot contradict it) it was God who encouraged it by the answers to prayer so addressed. Gibbon has scoffed at the fact that one of the miracles very commonly dwelt upon was the casting out of devils. But if it were ever so much, that those persons who spoke as demoniacs, persons possessed, were simple maniacs, still the maniacs were healed. Were it ever so much, that, in some cases, the body was healed through the mind, this would leave a large residue in which any mind open to evidence must acknowledge 'the finger of God.' St. Augustine says—

"'If, to omit others, I would write the miracles of healing alone, which were wrought through this martyr, the glorious Stephen, in the colony of Calama and in ours, many books must be written. And yet all cannot be gathered in one, but those only of which accounts have been sent in, to be recited before the people. For this we had done, seeing

that Divine miracles, like those of old, were multiplied in our times, and that this ought not to be lost to the knowledge of many' ('De Civ. Dei,' xxii. 8). 'Many know how great miracles take place in that city (Ancona), through the most blessed martyr Stephen' ('Serm.,' 323, *post ribell. de S. Steph.*, n. 2). 'At Uzalís, where my brother Euodius is bishop, how many miracles take place, seek and ye will find' (*Ibid.*, n. 3). One, which he guarantees, was the temporary restoration of an infant who had died unbaptized ('Serm.,' 324). He is careful to say that all was done by Christ."<sup>1</sup>

I add that St. Augustine explains the difference between the cultus of the saints and the adoration of God as follows :—

"We, therefore, worship the martyrs with that worship of love and of fellowship with which even in this life holy men of God are worshipped, whose hearts we feel are prepared for the like suffering for gospel truth; but we worship the martyrs more devotedly because with more certainty, since their conflicts are ended; as also with the more confident praise do we exalt those who are already conquerors in a happier life than those who are still warring here below. But with that worship which in Greek is called 'latria,' in Latin it cannot be expressed by one word, as it is a kind of service due and

<sup>1</sup> Forbes, *Explanation of the XXXIX. Articles*, p. 408, *et seq.*

appropriate to the Divinity alone, we neither worship, nor teach to worship, other than the One God.”<sup>1</sup>

But let this suffice. Surely a doctrine which can boast such a foundation in Holy Scripture as interpreted by the Church from the beginning, which is supported by such an array of patristic quotations, and which is so morally certain from its own inherent probability, is an Article of the Faith, and is included in our confession of “the communion of saints.” We can now pass to the consideration of the next question, Can the saints hear our prayers? which we shall discuss in the ensuing chapter.

<sup>1</sup> *Contra Faust*, xx. 21. [Gaume, tom. viii. 545.]

## CHAPTER V.

### THAT THE SAINTS HEAR OUR PRAYERS.

MANY have admitted the harmlessness of the practice of the invocation of the saints, and yet have rejected it on the ground that there is no good reason to believe, far less any certainty, that the saints can hear our prayers. As a sample of such, I shall quote Bishop Richard Mountagu, who attacked the practice with great violence, devoting an entire volume to the subject, entitled, "A Treatise of the Invocation of Saints."

"I grant," says he,<sup>1</sup> "Christ is not wronged in his mediation. It is no impiety to say, as they do, 'Sancta Maria, ora pro me : Sancte Petre, ora pro me,' and so no wrong unto Christ Jesus to use mediation of intercession unto him. As it is taught, I add, in their schools, by their doctors : resolved by

<sup>1</sup> Page 118. [London : William Stansby. 1624.]

that Oracle of *Trent*. But not as it is practised in their use and custom," etc.

And the only reason, or at least the chief reason, why he did not himself adopt the practice was, that he did not feel any certainty that the saints could hear. This he says very clearly as follows :—

“Demonstrate unto me infallibly by reason, Scripture, authentic tradition, that saints departed are all of them, or any of them, interested ordinarily *rebus viventium* ; that by either evening or morning knowledge, natural endowment or acquired accretments, by Divine revelation, angelical revelation, or other means, they do or can know and understand my necessities, exigencies, prayers, or practice in any time or place when I call upon them, or unto them, and I will unfeignedly join hands of fellowship and say, ‘Saint *Peter*, Saint *Paul*, pray for me.’ Until that, ἐπεὶχῶ ; and so I think will any desire to be excused for invocation ; for to be persuaded, as some have told me they are, that in their opinion saints nor do nor can be privy unto my necessities, nor hear my prayers, and yet to pray unto them, is to my understanding so poor a part of piety that it is without warrant of common sense.”<sup>1</sup>

With this last expressed opinion I must take

<sup>1</sup> *A Treatise of the Invocation of Saints*, pp. 218, 219.

most direct issue. While, for reasons which I shall set forth at large presently, I am convinced that the saints do know those prayers which we address to them, it must be clearly understood that for the goodness and usefulness of the practice of their invocation no such knowledge on their part is at all necessary; for, as a famous writer says,—

‘whether the saints hear or no is of small consequence, since God hears, who is the ultimate end of all prayers, both of those directly addressed to him and of those which are mediately addressed to him through his dear friends, the saints.’

This is the substance of his remarks which are certainly well founded, for even to a Roman Catholic, bound by the doctrinal decisions of Trent, Veron, in the quotation already made, considers that this is not of faith. He says—

“ It follows, (i.) That it is not of faith that the saints in heaven hear the prayers of the living. This is proved, 1. Because neither Pius’s Creed, nor the council of Trent declares this, nor proposes it, at least expressly, to our belief. 2. Although there were many theologians of great learning at the council, who were fully aware that Protestants denied that the saints really hear us; and, what is more, that they

condemned the invocation of the saints, precisely on these grounds; still the synod abstained, in its decree on the invocation of saints, from defining anything on this point. May not silence on such an occasion and under such circumstances be considered as a positive proof that the council was persuaded that this question was not one of faith?"<sup>1</sup>

And in this connection it is very material to quote (as does Veron) St. Augustine, who, while quite certain and clearly teaching that the saints should be invoked, yet is doubtful how they can hear us. He says—

"So then we must confess that the dead do not know what is doing here, but while it is being done here (*quid hic agitur sed dum hic agitur*); afterwards, however, they hear it from those who go from hence to them at death. . . . It may be also that from the angels the dead do hear something. . . . It may be also by the spirit of God's revelation to them."<sup>2</sup>

We can now proceed to answer the question, Do the saints hear our prayers? And we must stop to ask what is intended by the word "hear;" for if this word is to be taken literally, as meaning to perceive by the ear, of course the saints do nothing of the sort, and this is all the more

<sup>1</sup> Veron, *Rule of the Catholic Faith*, ch. ii. § 7.

<sup>2</sup> *De Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda*, 18 [xv.]. [Gaume, tom. vi. 882.]

evident from the fact that often these very prayers are only in the hearts of their suppliants and never find vocal utterance. It will next be asked, Can the saints read the thoughts and intents of the heart? To this the answer of all Catholic theologians is unequivocally in the negative. Unto none but God are all hearts open, all desires known, and from him alone no secrets are hid. On this point the reader is referred to Cardinal Bellarmine, and to the famous theologian Suarez. When we say, then, that the saints hear our prayers, all we intend to affirm is that they are cognizant of the requests which we address to them, and we make this assertion without in any way defining how they obtain that knowledge.

Before proceeding to bring forward the arguments and grounds upon which the Church has arrived at this conclusion, the reader will be glad to see the treatment of the subject in the supplement to the "Summa" of St. Thomas Aquinas, which I translate in full.

"Job xiv. 21. 'Whether his sons come to honour or dishonour, he shall not understand.' Upon this text St. Gregory, in the twelfth book of his 'Morals' (chapter 14, near the beginning) says, 'This must

not be supposed to refer to the souls of the saints, because it is impossible to believe that those who within see the glory of the Omnipotent God, can be ignorant of anything without.' Therefore they know the prayers we make to them.

"Moreover, Gregory, in his second 'Dialogue' (at the middle of the thirty-fifth chapter) says, 'The whole creation is a very limited thing to a soul seeing the Creator; for however little he saw of the glory of the Creator, it would make all creatures seem to him very short.' But their great distance from us seems to be the chief hindrance to the souls of the saints knowing our prayers and our actions. Since therefore (as is evident from the authority quoted above) this is no impediment, it seems that the souls of the saints do know our prayers and our actions.

"Moreover, if they did not know what we were about, they could not pray for us, because they would be ignorant of our needs. But this is the very error of Vigilantius, as Jerome saith in the first half of his epistle against him. Therefore the saints are cognizant of those things which are happening to us.

"I answer that it must be affirmed that the Divine Essence is a sufficient medium for the knowing of all things; which is evident from this, that God by seeing his own essence sees all things. From this, however, it does not follow that all who see the essence of God know all things, but only such as comprehend the essence of God; just as when the

first principle of a thing is known it does not follow that all the consequences flowing from that first principle are known also, unless its full power is comprehended. Wherefore, as the souls of the saints do not comprehend the divine essence, it does not follow [from their seeing it] that they know all things which can be known through the divine essence. From this it happens that the lower ranks of the angels are taught in certain matters by those in higher ranks, although all see the divine essence. But it is only necessary that concerning other things each of the blessed should see in the divine essence so much as is required to make his beatitude perfect. But this is necessary for perfect happiness, that one should have whatever he wants, and that he should not wish for anything inordinately. But whoever has a right will wishes to know those things which relate to himself. And as rectitude is in no matter lacking to the saints, they wish to know those things which pertain to themselves, and therefore it is right that they should know these things in the Word (*in Verbo*). But this is a part of their glory, that they aid, in the way of salvation, those who stand in need, for so they become workers together with God, 'than which nothing is more divine,' as Dionysius says towards the middle of the third chapter of his 'Heavenly Hierarchy.' Wherefore it is evident that the saints know what is necessary for this purpose. And so it is manifest that they know in the Word the vows, the

devotions, and the prayers of those who flee to their assistance."

Saint Thomas considers five objections, and answers them as follows :—

"1. It seems that the saints do not know our prayers, for Isaiah says (ch. lxiii. 16), 'Thou art our father, though Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knoweth us not,' and the Interlinear gloss says that 'the dead saints do not know what the living, even their own children, are doing;' and this explanation is adopted by Augustine in his book 'Of the Care to be taken of the Dead' (ch. xv.), where he quotes this authority; his words are these—'If such great patriarchs were ignorant of what was happening with respect to the people begotten by them; how can the dead be mixed up with the affairs and doings of the living by knowing about them and helping them?' Therefore the saints cannot know our prayers.

"To this it must be answered that Augustine must be understood as referring to the natural knowledge of disembodied souls, which knowledge, however, in holy souls is not shadowed over as it is in the wicked; but he is not speaking of that knowledge which is in the Word, since it is evident that at the time these words were said by Isaiah, Abraham did not have such knowledge, since no one before the passion of Christ ever arrived at the vision of God.

"2. Moreover, it is said to king Josiah in the

Fourth Book of the Kings (ch. xxii. 20): 'Therefore,' as thou hast wept before me, 'I will gather thee to thy fathers, . . . that thine eyes may not see all the evils I will bring upon this place.' But this would in no way have been the case after the death of Josiah, if he were to know after death what befel his people. Therefore the holy dead do not know our doings, and so have no knowledge of our prayers.

"To the second objection it must be said that the saints, although after this life they know what is going on here, yet it must not be believed that they are afflicted by their knowledge of the misfortunes happening to those they loved on earth; for they are so fulfilled with the joy of beatitude that grief in them can find no place. Wherefore, although they knew their misfortunes after death, nevertheless they were spared the grief by being taken away from this world before these misfortunes occurred. But, perchance, the souls not yet glorified would suffer sorrow if they were to know of the afflictions of those whom they love. And as the soul of Josiah was not yet glorified after it had gone forth of the body, St. Augustine (*Lib. De Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda*, cap. 13, 14, and 15) concludes from this place that the souls of the dead do not know the affairs of the living.

"3. Moreover, by so much as any one is more perfect in charity, by so much the more he comes to the aid of his neighbours in their perils. But the saints while still living in the flesh, consult the interests

of and aid their neighbours, especially when they are joined with them in peril. Since, therefore, after death their charity is much greater, if they were to know our doings, so much the more would they consult the interests of and aid in their necessities those near and dear to them, which they do not seem to do. Therefore it seems that they do not know our prayers or our doings.

“To the third objection it must be answered that the souls of the saints have their wills altogether conformed to the divine will, even *in volito*. And therefore, although they retain for their neighbours the affection of charity, yet they would by no means give them aid otherwise than they saw was in accordance with divine justice. Nevertheless, we must believe that they do greatly aid their neighbours by the prayers which they make for them.

“4. Moreover, the saints after death see the Word, so also do the angels, of whom it is written in the eighteenth chapter of Matthew, ver. 10, ‘Their angels do always see the face of my Father.’ But the angels, although they see the Word, do not therefore know all things, since the lesser are cleared of ignorance by the greater, as is evident from Dionysius in the seventh chapter of his ‘Hierarchy’ towards the middle, and also from the latter part of the sixth chapter of the same. Therefore neither do the saints, although they see the Word (*Verbum*), know in that vision our prayers nor the rest of the things which are befalling us.

“To the fourth objection it must be answered that, although while seeing the Word, it is not necessary they should know all things in the Word, yet that they do see those things which pertain to the perfection of their beatitude, as is set forth in the body of this article.

“5. Moreover, God alone is the reader of the heart. But prayer for the most part abides in the heart. Therefore it is the prerogative of God alone to know prayers. Therefore the saints are not cognisant of our prayers.

“To the fifth objection it must be said that God alone can by himself know the thoughts of the heart; but, for all this, others may know them as they are revealed to them either by the vision of the Word, or in some other way.”<sup>1</sup>

In pursuing this matter we naturally ask, in the first place, whether Holy Scripture gives any intimation that the saints in glory are cognizant of our affairs, and especially of our prayers which we address to them. There are many texts which are ordinarily cited to prove this; but we shall confine ourselves to two which to us seem more than sufficient.

St. Paul, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, at the twelfth chapter, after having in the last chapter

<sup>1</sup> S. Thomas Aq., *III. Partis Summæ*, *Sup.*, q. lxxii., art. 1.

enumerated many of the saints of the elder dispensation, sums the matter up :—

“ Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, etc. . . . But ye are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and Church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel ” (Heb. xii. 1, 22–24).

If this passage does not mean that the glorified saints who are in heaven with God and the holy angels, and with the Lord Jesus, are “ witnesses ” of us and of our doings, I am at a loss to know what it does mean. Such certainly has been the meaning attached to it by Protestant and Catholic alike, in evidence of which I can do no better than cite the old hymn once so often sung in our Churches—

“ Lo ! what a cloud of witnesses  
Encompass us around !  
Men once like us with suffering tried,  
But now with glory crowned.”

It has been urged that the word in the Greek

means only those who witness, not by looking on, but by dying ; but even were this granted—which we cannot allow—yet they are said to “compass us about :” a singularly useless state of affairs, if they could neither see nor hear.

There is, however, one other text, which, if possible, is more conclusive still. St. John tells us, in the Apocalypse, that the four and twenty elders, who had been “redeemed by the blood of the Lamb,” had in their hands “vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints” (Rev. v. 8). We also read, in the eighth chapter of the same book, of an angel, that—

“there was given unto him much incense, . . . and the smoke of the incense, with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel’s hand.”

Commenting on these texts, Perrone well says—

“How could they offer our prayers to God, unless they knew through God’s manifestation the prayers of the living and the desires of their hearts ?”<sup>1</sup>

And Cardinal Bellarmine, after finishing the same

<sup>1</sup> Perrone, *Prælec. Theol., Tract. de Cult. Sanc.*, cap. iii. prop. I, § 41.

argument, triumphantly concludes, "and this argument our adversaries never can answer."<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary to place here any catena of the Fathers, as this point is often implied in those passages already given to show the opinion of the ancients that the saints pray in heaven for the faithful on earth, and in those which will be given further on, on the subject of their invocation.

I pause here, however, to set before the reader a very thoughtful passage from Mr. William Palmer's "Dissertations."

"But if the bodily sense of every insect, and beast, and bird, and of man himself has in each case its proper range of seeing and hearing, and the eagle which sees furthest is as far removed from omnipresence or omniscience as the fly, then surely there will be no necessary encroachment upon Deity, even if we suppose a creature to see and hear at once everything that passes within the whole solar system. And, in truth, we know nothing of the faculties of spirits, nor of the laws of their exercise and limitation; we know nothing of the range of their sight and hearing, that is, of their knowledge or presence: only we are inclined to suppose a certain likeness or analogy between the faculties of bodies and of

<sup>1</sup> Bellarmine, *De Sanc. Beat.*, lib. i. cap. xix.

spirits, and a certain superiority in those of the latter. The prophet Elisha, being yet in the body, said that his spirit saw and followed Gehazi, when the Syrian turned again from his chariot to meet him. Why, then, may not disembodied spirits of saints do as much? Again, we ascribe even to the devil a very wide range of knowledge and action, a sort of ubiquity. Why, then, may not angels and saints know or hear at least as much of what passes on earth as does the devil—especially what has relation to themselves? Or if, in point of fact, they do not, but the Greeks and Latins think they do, and speak to them in consequence in the sense in which they might lawfully speak to them if they were present in the body, how can this be more than a mere innocent mistake as to a matter of fact? Not to say that there may be, and are, other reasons for addressing them besides the belief that they actually hear; as, for instance, to cultivate a sense of the communion of saints by poetical hymns and meditations, and by rhetorical apostrophes, or as an indirect form of praying to God. Or why should the error of a child which calls to some one (its mother perhaps, or brother) who is too far off to hear, or divided by too thick a wall, or altogether absent, be venial or rather amiable, but the mistake of those who invoke saints and angels (supposing it to be true that they cannot hear) be heresy, or worthy of blame? They, indeed, who can see no

reason for speaking to them, will, of course, not speak to them; they would be acting absurdly if they did. But why should they quarrel with others who, thinking that there is reason for speaking to them, speak to them accordingly." <sup>1</sup>

When we come to the question, How do the saints know our prayers and desires? perhaps the best answer is that we cannot tell, Almighty God having made no clear revelation upon the subject. Nor will it be amiss here to recal the words of St. Chrysostom, who notes it as a sure mark of a heretic to ask  $\pi\omega\varsigma$ . He is writing on the text, "How can a man be born again?" and comments as follows—

"Thus the heretics persevere in their heresy, often asking this question; while others say, How is he begotten? And others, How is he incarnate? And thus they subject the infinite substance of God to the imbecility of their own ratiocinations. Now, since we know this to be the case, we should carefully avoid such prying curiosity." <sup>2</sup>

We might, then, simply say that the Church has, by a continuous tradition, taught that the

<sup>1</sup> William Palmer of Magdalen, *Dissertations on Subjects relating to the "Orthodox" or "Eastern Catholic" Communion* (Diss. xvii. p. 244).

<sup>2</sup> Chrysostom, *Hom. xxiv. in Joan.*

fact of the saints and angels being cognizant of our prayers and desires is revealed in Holy Scripture, but that the manner in which they have this knowledge is not revealed, and therefore cannot be certainly known. So we might answer; but the great theologians, while fully recognizing that there is nothing *de fide* on the matter, yet have spent much pains in considering what is most in accordance with "the analogy of the faith." Had these questions been only propounded by the scholastics, perhaps they might have been omitted from this place, but since so early and so weighty a Father as St. Augustine has treated the matter at some length, it would be disrespectful not to cite, for the information of the reader, what he says, and, in doing so, I shall use the summary made by the learned Petau, in the fourteenth book of his work upon the Incarnation, in the seventeenth chapter.

"The following is a summary of what Augustine says on this matter in his book 'Concerning the Care to be taken of the Dead:' The dead do not know of themselves 'what is going on on earth,' but they either 'hear it from the angels,' or 'it is revealed to them by the Spirit of God.' He says, 'This also

answers the question how the martyrs show by the blessings obtained by their prayers their interest in human affairs, if the dead do not know what the living are about. For it is certain that the confessor Felix appeared, not only by the beneficial effects [of his prayers], but also to the eyes of men when the barbarians were attacking Nola, and this we have been informed, not by doubtful rumour, but by certain witnesses. . . . We must not, however, think that all the dead are interested in the affairs of the living, because the martyrs are present for the healing and help of some persons. But rather it must be understood that the martyrs are interested in the affairs of the living by a divine power, for the dead of themselves can have no interest in the affairs of the living. But although it is a question which is too great for me to solve how the martyrs aid those they help, yet the fact is certain. Whether they themselves are present at the same time in such widely separated places, . . . or whether, while they are in their fitting places according to their merits, and removed from all converse with mortals, are yet praying generally for the needs of the suppliants. . . . God Almighty, having heard the martyrs' prayers, affords by angelic ministries to men those solaces he sees fit, and causes the merits of his martyrs to be revered, where, when, and as he wills, but especially at their shrines.'<sup>1</sup> He further adds, 'This thing is too high

<sup>1</sup> *De Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda*, 19 [xvi.]. [Gaume, tom. vi. 883.]

for me to attain, and too abstruse for me to investigate: and so I dare not form an opinion as to whether of these two may be the real manner, or whether, perchance, it may be both, so that sometimes these things happen by the presence of the martyrs themselves, and sometimes through angels who assume the character of the martyrs: I rather seek answers from those who know.' ”

St. Jerome is on this point more clear than St. Augustine, and in his famous letter against Vigilantius says—

“ But you say that the souls of the apostles and of the martyrs are seated either in Abraham’s bosom, or in the place of refreshment, or else beneath the altar of God; and that they cannot be present at their tombs and where they would desire. They are of senatorial dignity, and not with murderers in the lowest prison; but they are kept in free and desirable ward in the Isles of the Happy and in the Elysian fields. Wilt thou set limits to God? Wilt thou hurl the apostles into chains, that they may be kept bound until the day of judgment, and shall they not be with the Lord, concerning whom it is written: ‘ They follow the Lamb, whithersoever he goeth ’? If the Lamb is everywhere, then those also who are with the Lamb ought to be believed to be everywhere. And since the devil and his angels wander about in all the world, and are present everywhere

with too great celerity, is it possible that the martyrs, after the effusion of their blood, should be shut up, enclosed in an ark, so that thence they could not get out?"

Perrone sums up the whole matter as follows :

"Whether the saints know our prayers in the Word, as some contend, or by a particular manifestation of God, as very many wish, or in some other way, it is not our place to inquire. It suffices for us to know, as has been shown, that they have this knowledge." <sup>1</sup>

A brief explanation of the expression "in the Word" (*in Verbo*) may not be unnecessary. Petavius says that—

"to see the creatures in the Word is the same thing as to see them in the work of God (*in Dei acte*), or in the glory of God (*in Dei claritate*), as Gregory <sup>2</sup> calls it; or 'in the very fountain of wisdom' (*in ipso fonte scientiæ*), as the same Gregory <sup>3</sup> calls it in another place, that is to see 'the things made by the Word in the Word' (*in Verbo facta per Verbum*), as Bernard <sup>4</sup> says. And all these are properly comprehended by the theologians in the expression *Speculum*." <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perrone, *De Cult. Sanct.*, cap. iii., ii. obj. § 71.

<sup>2</sup> Greg., *Dial.*, iv., c. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Greg., *Moral.*, cap. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Bernardus, *De Conf.*, lib. v. cap. i.

<sup>5</sup> Petavius, *De Incarn.* lib. xiv. cap. xvii., § viii.

The idea that the Face of God is the Mirror of the Universe is so common as almost to be universal among theologians, and the Beatific Vision seen therein may well be supposed to include among other things a knowledge of the prayers and desires directed by those on earth to the blessed. This is called "Speculum Trinitatis," "the Mirror of the Trinity;" and it would seem to be something far more than a speculation of the schools, for the following words of St. Paul appear very clearly to reveal something of the kind :—

"For we know in part, . . . but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. . . . For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known." (1 Cor. xiii. 9, *et seqq.*)

This teaching of the theologians is beautifully summed up by Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln, in his well-known hymn, "Hark! the sound of holy voices :"—

"Now they reign in heavenly glory,  
Now they walk in golden light,  
Now they drink, as from a river,  
Holy bliss and infinite ;

Love and peace they taste for ever,  
And all truth and knowledge see  
In the Beatific vision  
Of the Holy Trinity."

I think I have now sufficiently treated upon this matter, and shall gather up what I have been saying in the words of the profoundly learned De Dominis, who will not be suspected of having an undue bias towards the Roman view. In speaking of the souls of the saints, he says—

"That they intercede for us mortals with God, even by a particular intercession, seems to have been held always in the Catholic Church as a most certain truth;"<sup>1</sup>

and, further on, he says the same thing—

"The souls of the saints are cognizant of our prayers, and this is a certain dogma."<sup>2</sup> He adds, "How the angels and saints know our affairs and hear our prayers, especially when they are but the longings of the heart, is unknown to us."

It will be noticed that if the saints derive this knowledge from their gazing on the Speculum, the prayers are, in the order of thought, known first to God, and afterwards to the saints. This

<sup>1</sup> De Dominis, *De Repub. Eccl.*, vii. cap. 12, n. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 27.

being the case, while from the teaching of the Church it is evident that the saints are informed by God of those prayers which are directed to them, yet (so far as the results are concerned) it would be quite immaterial, God himself being the real end to which all prayer, not idolatrous, must be directed. We close, then, this whole matter with the words of Hugo of St. Victor,— words the sense of which we have already quoted.

“ Many question whether the saints hear the prayers of their suppliants, and whether, when they are asked to intercede, the desires of their suppliants come to their knowledge. It is difficult to give an opinion in this matter. For how can our knowledge be certain about those whose knowledge of us we can neither understand nor investigate? This one thing is certain, the souls of the saints in the secret of the Divine Contemplation, only know so much of what is going on without, as either will minister to their joy or be of advantage to us for aid. We seek intercessors with God? What more do you wish? Are you haply afraid that they will not pray who pray always? How could it be that they would not pray for thee when thou thyself prayest, since they never cease praying even when thou art not praying? But you say, They do not hear. I am

pouring out my words into the air, speaking to those who neither hear nor understand. Let us suppose that the saints do not hear the words of their suppliants, and that to know what is happening without forms no part of their beatitude. Suppose we say they do not hear. Does not God hear? Why, therefore, labour to investigate what and how much the saints thou art praying to hear: since God himself hears, on account of whom thou art praying? He sees thy humility, who is alert to remunerate thy devotion. If, however, after all, they do hear, and however much they may hear, what is to hear but to know? For there is but one light in which they hear so as to perceive, and see so as to know; and if it happens that anything which occurs without they do not hear or do not see, it is because of the mystery of the dispensation, and is no detriment to their bliss. Nevertheless there are found certain of the holy Fathers who have so spoken, as if there could be nothing of the creatures they do not see who see Him that seeth all. I do not presume to give any opinion further than this, that they see only so much as is pleasing to him whom they see and in whom they see.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hugo de S. Vict., *De Sacramentis*, lib. ii. pars. xvi. cap. ii. [Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, clxxvi., col. 596.]

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE MEANING OF "THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS."

I SHOULD have treated this whole subject of the intercession and invocation of the saints in a very imperfect fashion, were I to omit all discussion of the meaning of the clause in the Apostles' Creed, "The Communion of Saints." I have reserved the matter until this point that the reader might appreciate that the doctrine and practice of which I have been writing in no degree depend, for their warrant and authority, upon the interpretation we may place upon these words.

Before we are in a position to arrive at any conclusion with regard to the meaning of the words in question, we must be intimately familiar with a very interesting episode of ecclesiastical history, viz. the controversy which took place

in the beginning of the fifth century between St. Jerome and a certain priest by the name of Vigilantius. Often as the story has been told, it would seem that the strong theological feelings of the writers have somewhat interfered with a full and just appreciation of the matter. That St. Jerome used a bitterness of style and liberty of abuse little in accordance with the decorous ideas of this age, is familiar to all who have ever, even in part, perused his writings; but surely these faults of style are quite immaterial to the student who approaches his works for historical and theological information. In the following treatment of the subject I shall omit all denunciatory and merely rhetorical statements, and confine myself strictly to the matter in hand.

Historians agree that Vigilantius was born about the year 370, at Calagurris, near Comminges, which was situated on the highway between Spain and France—Aquitaine, as it was then.<sup>1</sup> He was a tavern-keeper, as his

<sup>1</sup> In this historical sketch I have followed the *Admonitio* (of the Benedictine edition) to the *Liber contra Vigilantium*, and the introductory note by Canon Fremantle to the translation of that work in Schaff and Wace's *The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, vol. vi., also (and especially) the article on the subject

father was before him, but Sulpicius Severus interested himself in his education and assisted him in his studies. In 395 he took letters of introduction to St. Paulinus of Nola, and, after his return to Severus, was ordained. He then went to the Holy Land, and lived with St. Jerome in his monastery at Bethlehem. For some reason he grew tired, desired to leave, and actually returned, carrying a letter from St. Jerome to St. Paulinus. On his journey through Italy and among the Cottian Alps he said many things highly disparaging to St. Jerome, among others charging him with Origenism, although he had himself loudly applauded St. Jerome, and hailed him as a champion of orthodoxy (Ep. lix.) after a certain sermon he had heard him preach upon the reality of the resurrection body.

After Vigilantius's return, he propagated his doctrines in France, and they would seem to have been adopted with some readiness. Two

by the same author in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. In making citations I have followed, almost without variation, Canon Fremantle's translation, as it cannot be suspected of partisan bias. I may also add that I have not consulted Canon Gilly's work, *Vigilantius and his Times*, as not being likely to assist me in the present investigation.

priests, Riparius and Desiderius, complained to St. Jerome that these errors were creeping in among their flocks; and it would seem that the bishop of the diocese in which Vigilantius was was not averse to his teaching. Germadius states that he had at one time a cure in Spain at Barcelona; previously to this he was in Southern France, and the messenger who carried St. Jerome's book, "Against Vigilantius," to Riparius, also carried a commentary and a letter to Toulouse. Canon Fremantle, in his *Life of Vigilantius* in Smith and Wace's "Dictionary of Christian Biography," asserts that the "views of Vigilantius . . . began to spread widely in Southern Gaul." I believe such to have been the case, but I do not know any proof of the fact besides such as may be supposed to be contained in Riparius's letter, which we only know from St. Jerome's answer ("Ep.," cix.). The date of this letter is 404. Towards the end of the year 406, the two French clergymen sent him the book by Vigilantius, which drew forth St. Jerome's answer in the same year.

Such is an abstract of the facts of the case. Our interest, for the present discussion, is two-fold, first as to the witness the controversy gives

to the Church's doctrine and practice with regard to the cultus of the saints and of their reliques; second, as to the errors of Vigilantius on this subject, which St. Jerome exposed. With regard to the other errors of Vigilantius, touching almsdeeds, chastity, asceticism, vigils, etc., we have no concern, and I shall refer the reader to other sources of information.

We proceed to set down what St. Jerome tells us was the custom of the whole Catholic Church in his time. He asks—

“Do we, every time that we enter the basilicas of the apostles and the prophets, as well as of all the martyrs, pay homage (*veneramur*) to the shrines of idols? Are the tapers which burn before their tombs only the tokens of idolatry?” (“Ep.,” cix., 1).

Vigilantius is quoted as having criticized the custom of the Church in his book thus:—

“What need is there for you to pay not only such honour, but even adoration, to the thing, whatever it may be, which you worship (*colis*) while carrying it in procession in a little vessel?” “Why do you kiss and adore a bit of powder wrapped up in a cloth?” “Under the cloak of religion we see what is all but a heathen ceremony introduced into the churches: while the sun is still shining, heaps of

tapers are lighted, and everywhere a bit of powder, I know not what, wrapped up in a costly cloth, is kissed and worshipped."

To this St. Jerome answers—

"Madman, who in the world ever adored the martyrs? Who ever thought man was God?" ("Contra Vigil.," 4, 5).

In another place he enlarges more on this point in answer to Vigilantius's charge, that Catholics were "ashmongers and idolaters, who pay homage to dead men's bones."

"We," says he, "it is true, refuse to worship or adore, I say, not the reliques of the martyrs, but even the sun and moon, the angels and archangels, the cherubim and seraphim, and 'every name that is named, not only in this world but also in that which is to come.' For we may not 'serve the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for ever.' Still we honour the reliques of the martyrs, that we may adore him whose martyrs they are. We honour the servants that their honour may redound to the Lord, who himself says, 'He that receiveth you receiveth me'" ("Ep.," cix. 1).

The universality of the doctrine and practice may be gathered from the following:—

"Are all the bishops to be considered not only

sacrilegious, but silly into the bargain, because they carried that most worthless thing, dust and ashes, wrapped in silk in a golden vessel? Are the people of all the churches fools, because they went to meet the sacred reliques?" ("Contra Vigil," 5).

Further on he writes—

"Does the bishop of Rome do wrong when he offers sacrifices to the Lord on the venerable bones of the dead men Peter and Paul, as we should say, but, according to you, over a worthless bit of dust, and judges their tombs to be Christ's altars? And not only is the bishop of one city in error, but the bishops of the whole world err, who, despite the tavern-keeper Vigilantius, enter the basilicas of the dead, in which 'a worthless bit of dust and ashes, of what I know not, lies wrapped up in a cloth,' defiled and defiling all else" (*Ibid.* 8).

We pass now to a consideration of what was the heresy of Vigilantius with regard to this matter. We have seen already that he condemned the cultus of the reliques of the saints, but the doctrinal grounds upon which he condemned the practice of the Church have not yet appeared. Now, his heresy was the denial that the saints in glory pray for the living. St. Jerome states his doctrine as follows:—

“ You say in your pamphlet that, so long as we are alive, we can pray for one another ; but once we die, the prayer of no person for another can be heard, and all the more because the martyrs, though they cry for the avenging of their blood, have never been able to obtain their request. If apostles and martyrs while still in the body can pray for others, when they ought still to be anxious for themselves, how much more must they do so when once they have won their crowns, overcome and triumphed ! ” ( “ *Contra Vigil.*, ” 6 ).

It was, then, the doctrine of the Catholic faith that the saints in glory pray for those still on earth, which Vigilantius denied, and (consistently with this) he denounced the practice of invoking the saints and of seeking their patronage by the cultus of their reliques. It all went together, as we have already explained. Once grant the doctrine, and the practice inevitably follows. The communion of the glorified saints with the militant souls on earth carries with it the cultus which the Church has ever offered to the saints and to their reliques, a cultus which, from the evidence of both Vigilantius and St. Jerome, was universal in the first years of the fifth century.

From the foregoing investigation it would appear that, in the south of France and in

Spain, there were some, probably many, who followed the opinions of Vigilantius, and who denied the intercession and denounced the invocation of the saints. This was, as we have seen, at the close of the first decade of the fifth century, about the year 410, St. Jerome's answer having been written in 406. And now I have to call the reader's attention to a most interesting fact, and one the importance of which I beg him to weigh most carefully. The fact is this: the article "the Communion of Saints," in the Apostles' Creed, is first found in a sermon preached about the year 490, probably by Faustus of Riez, in France, in the province of Arles, and next in the Mozarabic Liturgy; that is to say, in Southern Gaul and Spain, the very two countries infected by the heresy of Vigilantius. With regard to the first-named authority, it may be well to mention that the sermons occur in the collection of Eusebius (called Gallicanus) of Emesa, but they are now generally attributed to Faustus; the reader is referred on this point to Dr. G. L. Hahn, to Dr. Caspari, and especially to the carefully edited Vienna series of ecclesiastical writers, in which Dr. Engelbrecht is the editor of "Faustus." In

addition to the creed as collected from the sermons just mentioned (*vide* Swainson’s “The Nicene and Apostles’ Creeds”), we have the following from his book “De Spiritu Sancto :”

“[And I believe] in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Church, the Communion of Saints, the Forgiveness of Sins (*abremissa peccatorum*), the Resurrection of the Flesh, Eternal Life” (i. 2).

We may consider this interesting fact, therefore, as established by undoubted authority. Nor is there anything unusual in a clause being introduced into a creed to rebut a particular heresy, for the reader will remember that an exactly similar thing took place in the same locality with regard to the Nicene Creed, in which the words *Filioque* were added to counteract the Adoptionist heresy.

In view of this most extraordinary coincidence is it too much to infer that the words of the creed “The Communion of Saints” were added as an expression of belief in the intercession and invocation of saints, in opposition to the heresy of Vigilantius, and that gradually the addition, as that of the descent into hell, was adopted by the rest of the Churches of the West?

An objection to this suggestion might possibly be made on the ground that the rest of the world would be unlikely to adopt, especially the Church of Rome, a local creed, with additions made solely upon local authority; but a complete and triumphant answer to this objection is found in the fact that this very thing did take place with regard to the Nicene Creed, even after the Pope had set up that creed without the *Filioque*, and had forbidden it to be sung with the addition. Moreover, the enormous influence of the Hispanio-Gallican Church is now recognized generally by scholars, and the theory, or rather the facts, set forth by Dr. Swainson in a modest note at the end of ch. xiv. of his "The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds," in answer to Dr. Heurtley, has since been developed and set forth with much learning by the Abbé Duchesne in his "Origines du Culte Chrétien."

#### APPENDED NOTE.

Since writing the foregoing, I have found that the same view of the matter is taken by the rationalistic Lutheran professor, Dr. Harnack, in his pamphlet "Das Apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss (!)" (Berlin, 1892).

"The darkest point of all is the origin and the original

meaning of the addition ‘the Communion of Saints.’ It has been attempted to set this thought in connection with the article ‘He descended into hell.’ In the one case the heavenly fellowship of the saints must be intended, in the other the fellowship of the Old Testament worthies, who have been led out of hades. But this connection is artificial, and if ever it was made, it must have been late.

“The article must be considered by itself. On Greek soil it absolutely does not occur,—exactly translated into Greek, the expression would signify ‘a participation in the holies,’ that is in divine worship, especially in the Holy Supper. It is a pure Latin growth, and indeed the phrase does not occur in Latin church literature before Augustine and the Donatist dispute; even then it is not to be found in the creeds. Here, however, it was a capital point of dispute. Augustine and his opponents unite in understanding it as ‘the communion of the truly holy (believing) on earth;’ but they represent differently its relation to the Catholic Church of which they had experience—Augustine in the sense of virtual identity. From this, one would expect that this phrase, when it first appeared in the creeds, would be understood as a further explanation of ‘the holy Catholic Church,’ *i.e.* the communion of saints which the Catholic Church is. Here there would be an instance of the rare case of an addition made to the baptismal creed on account of a church dispute.

“But, on the other hand, the most ancient commentary upon the creed explains the expression (after it had been received into the Gallican symbol), not in the Augustinian and anti-Donatist sense, but fixes it as ‘communion with the perfected saints.’ Indeed, one must go even a step further. Apparently the interpretation of the Gaul, Faustus of Riez, is not only the oldest interpretation of the creed in which the expression occurs, but it furnishes absolutely the most ancient witness for the existence of the clause ‘the Communion of Saints’ in a creed at all. But how did Faustus explain the words? He writes: ‘*Ut transeamus ad “Sanctorum communionem.” Illos hic sententia ista confundit, qui sanctorum et amicorum Dei cineres non in honore*

debere esse blasphemant, qui beatorum martyrum gloriosam memoriam sacrorum reverentia monumentorum colendam esse non credunt. In symbolum prævaricati sunt et Christo in fonte mentiti sunt, et per hanc infidelitatem in medio sinu vitæ locum morti aperuerunt.'

"Thus Faustus applies the words to the followers of Vigilantius, to the opponents of the cultus of the saints. He has no idea that the expression in the creed can refer to any except the 'saints' in the full Catholic sense of the words, and considers that it contains and defends the cultus of the saints.

"As has been said, however, this creed of Faustus's is the most ancient we know of in which the words 'sanctorum communionem' occur. From this, and from the fact that the words appear in the creed first in south Gaul and in the second half of the fifth century; that Vigilantius in the first half of the same century and in the vicinity, that is in Barcelona, exercised his influence and gained his followers; one is obliged to consider it as very probable that the words in question really signify 'communion with the martyrs and those in a special sense saints.' Thus they were originally, not an explication of the expression 'the holy Catholic Church,' but a continuation of it. If, then, the above-given sense was the original, it was necessary for the Churches of the Reformation to misinterpret it. This misinterpretation<sup>1</sup> could, however, occur all the more readily as there was to be found in Augustine a fit and worthy interpretation—which, to be sure, was not the original meaning of the creed. This was never forgotten through the entire Middle Ages. Henceforth it remains that every informed person [*i.e.* Protestant] must take offence at this expression according to its original sense, just as (though on other grounds) at the expression 'the resurrection of the flesh.'"

---

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Swete has lately, in his otherwise admirable book, *The Apostles' Creed*, set forth this very "misinterpretation."

## CHAPTER VII.

### OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

WE have now treated fully of the doctrine involved in the practice of the invocation of the saints, and we have found that the saints reigning with Christ in glory pray for those still on this earth, and that this doctrine is taught by the Fathers, was believed by Christians from the beginning, and has been from the first considered by the Church as a doctrine contained in Holy Scripture, and therefore revealed by Almighty God. We have also found that the belief that the saints are, in some way by God's revelation, cognizant of our prayers is so universal and of so great antiquity that to deny or even question its truth would be the greatest temerity, especially since it is deemed by so many grave theologians a necessary deduction from the statements of Holy Scripture, and therefore as

contained in Holy Writ and capable of proof thereby. We have also seen that, even if this universal belief were ill-founded, yet that, since all prayers in any case are ultimately addressed to God, it matters nothing, so far as we are concerned, whether the saints hear us or no.

So much, then, for the doctrine, and we should be ready to go on to a consideration of the history of the practice, were it not that to all this doctrine, as well as to the practice, objections have been made by Protestant writers. These objections are, for the most part, of the most frivolous character, yet it would seem that they should be answered here, at least very briefly.

*Objection 1.* The saints do not pray in heaven, but praise God day and night.

*Answer.* The Church teaches that they do pray, and Holy Scripture expressly says that they have "vials full of odours which are the prayers of saints" (Apoc. v. 8).

*Obj. 2.* The saints cannot know what is going on on earth, and therefore cannot pray for us.

*Ans.* The saints know all that is necessary for them living their life in glory, but part of that life is to offer prayers, therefore God reveals

to them all that is necessary for them to know in order to pray.

*Obj.* 3. The saints do not know our prayers, and therefore praying to them is waste of time.

*Ans.* It is most probable, indeed all but certain, that the saints do know our prayers, and even the desires of our hearts, by the revelation of God ; but if they did not, God hears, which is the chief matter, since he is the real end of all prayer.

*Obj.* 4. As the saints have perfect charity, there is no use in asking for the prayers which they would offer of themselves.

*Ans.* (i.) Unless we asked, possibly God would not reveal to them our needs.

(ii.) The same argument would render useless all prayer to God himself, who is perfect charity.

*Obj.* 5. The time spent in praying to the saints would have been better employed in praying to God.

*Ans.* If this objection is well founded, it will apply equally to the time spent in asking aid of the living, *eg.* in asking a priest to remember one at the altar, etc.

*Obj.* 6. God is more ready to hear than any

saint, and therefore it is useless to invoke the saints.

*Ans.* God will sometimes hear one when he will not hear another. The prayer of the righteous God hears, but "God heareth not sinners." What we might not attain by asking directly from God, we may obtain at the intercession of one of his friends, the saints. So it was that God refused to accept the prayers of Job's friends, but said to them, "Go to my servant Job, and he shall pray for you, for him will I accept" (Job xlii. 8).

*Obj.* 7. If the saints know all things, even the thoughts of the heart, they must be omnipresent and omniscient, but this is to attribute divine prerogatives to the creature.

*Ans.* The saints are neither the one nor the other, and know nothing but what is revealed to them by God. The Roman Catholic authors of the "Catholic Dictionary" say on this point, "we should be idolators indeed were we to think of them as omnipresent or omniscient."<sup>1</sup>

*Obj.* 8. We must religiously worship God alone, but prayer is an act of religious worship, therefore prayer must not be made to the saints.

<sup>1</sup> Addis and Arnold, *A Catholic Dict.*, art. "Saints."

*Ans.* There is one kind of prayer which is an act of religious worship, and which cannot be offered without idolatry to any but God alone. This kind of prayer is that of trust and faith in the person prayed to. But there is another kind of prayer which consists of the requests which creatures make one to the other, and such prayers cannot be idolatrous because they are taught expressly in Holy Scripture ; for example, when the apostle says, "Brethren, pray for us" (1 Thess. v. 25). There can be no more idolatry in asking for the prayers of the saints in heaven, than for those of the saints upon earth.

*Obj.* 9. There is but One Mediator and One Intercessor, but this practice makes many mediators and many intercessors.

*Ans.* There is but One Mediator in that sublime sense, that there is but one sharing the nature of each of the parties to be mediated between ; and so, too, in this sense there is but One Intercessor between (*inter*) the two. But in a lower sense, there are many mediators and intercessors, both on earth and in heaven ; and that without in any way encroaching upon our Lord's unique prerogatives. Otherwise the

priesthood, which mediates and intercedes for the people, would be sacrilegious, and all other intercessory prayer.

*Obj.* 10. There is no trace of the invocation of saints in the apostolic or sub-apostolic times, and it must be looked upon as an early corruption.

*Ans.* We have shown that, while such a fact is fatal to a doctrine, it is of no importance or weight with regard to a practice, which may be developed at any time. It can easily be seen that, while idolatry was rife, the Church had to be most careful in the cultus of the saints, lest they should appear to the heathen to be demi-gods. But after heathenism was overthrown, that danger passed away. The same is acknowledged to have been the case with the use of Sacred Art.

*Obj.* 11. There is no approval of the practice in any formulary of the Anglican Church, and all such addresses have been removed from her public worship.

*Ans.* This was done because the thing had been abused, and it was supposed the abuse could only be removed by stopping its use in public. Moreover, as it was merely a practice,

and its introduction into public worship of comparatively late date, it could be laid aside for a time and until the danger of abuse was past, with perfect propriety. All that can be concluded from the fact stated in the objection is, that the Anglican Church does not require any one to adopt this practice.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE HISTORY OF THE PRACTICE.

WE now come to trace the history of the practice of invoking the saints, and I shall begin by quoting the words of our own Anglican writer, Herbert Thorndike, who, since he rejects it, will not be suspected of giving to the practice too early a date. He says of direct invocation :—

“The second sort, it is confessed, had the beginning in the flourishing times of the Church after Constantine. The lights of the Greek and Latin Church, Basil, Nazianzen, Nyssen, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, Cyrils both, Theodoret, Fulgentius, Gregory the Great, Leo, more or rather all after that time, have all of them spoken to the saints departed, and desired their assistance.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thorndike, *Of the Laws of the Church*, bk. iii. ch. xxxi. § 30.

But few writers have pretended to deny that direct invocation of the saints is at least as early as the fourth century, and, while not thinking it necessary to crowd my pages with a complete catena of citations to prove this (which would be quite unnecessary for my present purpose), I have, to enable the reader to form a sound judgment in the matter, chosen some of the most striking passages and placed them before his eyes. For those who would pursue the point more fully, I would mention the admirable collections of Bellarmine, Petavius, Perrone, and especially that of Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, in his "Explanation of the XXXIX. Articles," to all of which I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness.

Before, however, proceeding to give my quotations, I would note that the invocation of the saints and the invocation of the Holy Ghost, so far as our records go, began about the same time. I do not know of any direct prayer to the Holy Ghost before the fifth century, which is considerably later than the first mention we have of prayers to the saints. "Holy Mary, pray for us," seems to have been an earlier form of Christian devotion than "O Holy Ghost,

have mercy upon us.” Of course, in both cases the underlying doctrine had been held from the beginning, but the practice was of later introduction.

St. Ambrose (A.D. 374-397) writes as follows:—

“Angels are to be entreated (*obsecrandi*) who were given to us as a guard; martyrs are to be entreated, whose patronage we seem to claim for ourselves by the pledge of their bodies. They can ask for our sins who washed whatever sins they had with their own blood. For they are God’s martyrs, our presiders, the surveyors of our life and actions. Let us not be ashamed to employ them as intercessors for our infirmity, who knew the infirmity of the body even when they overcame.”<sup>1</sup>

St. Asterius of Amasea, who flourished at the end of the fourth century, wrote as follows:—

“Thus fathers or mothers will take a sick child in their arms, neglecting medicine and physicians, and fly to an assistance unknown to art; and, coming to one of the martyrs, will prefer their prayer to the Lord through him—thus addressing their mediator:

<sup>1</sup> *De Viduis*, cap. ix. 55. [Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, tom. xvi. 264.] For a complete answer to Bishop Andrewes’s frivolous objection to this passage, see Bishop Forbes’s *Consid. Mod.*, vol. ii. p. 247. With the expression, “washed their sins with their own blood,” compare Tertullian at the end of his Apology, and St. Chrysostom, *Serm. de S. Luciano*.

‘Thou, who hast suffered for Christ, intercede for this suffering and disease. Thou who hast power (*παρρησία*) with God, use thy intercession for thy fellow-servants. For although thou hast left this life, at least thou knowest the sufferings of humanity. Thou, too, hast invoked the martyrs, before thou wast a martyr. Seeking, thou hast then received; and now that thou hast, bestow upon us. By thy blood may we be healed, as the world is by that of Christ.’ Another, about to be married, invokes the blessings of the martyrs on his nuptial chamber. No one undertaking a voyage sets sail before he has invoked the Lord of the sea through the martyrs.”

“For as our prayers are not sufficient to propitiate God in a time of necessity and distress, we fly for succour to those of our fellow-servants who are beloved of God, that they, by their own merits, may remedy our delinquencies. What fault, then, is there if we desire to please God by honouring the martyrs? What harm, if we fly for succour to them as our patrons?”

“Let us, then, pray to God, but let us also invoke the martyrs, that they would obtain from our common Lord, that the spirit of repentance may be granted to those who are captive to heretical pravity, that all dissensions being destroyed we may join together in fraternal unity in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory throughout all ages.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hom. x., in Sanct. Mart.* [Migne, *Patrol. Græc.*, vol. xl. 314, *et seqq.*]

I have had already occasion to dwell somewhat at length upon St. Augustine's testimony. I may, however, quote from one of his sermons, in which he tells the following story of a mother whose child had died unbaptized :—

“The mother said : ‘Holy Martyr, thou seest I have no solace. Thou knowest why I mourn. Restore me my son, that I may have him in the presence of Him who crowned thee.’ The child revived, was baptized, and, all the sacraments now completed, was taken. . . . When, then, God wrought such a miracle through his martyr, could he not then [*i.e.* at Uzalis] cure these ?”<sup>1</sup>

St. Basil, of Seleucia, who lived about the year 430,<sup>2</sup> in a sermon writes as follows :—

“How shall I dare to sound the virginal gulf, and search into the abyss of so great a mystery, unless thou, O Mother of God, wilt teach me, unskilful diver, to put off the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, and filling with thy mercy the mouth of my mind, enable me to penetrate the deep secret of thy Son's truth, that by the light of thy mercy I may find in thee the pearl of truth ?

<sup>1</sup> *Serm.*, 324. [Gaume, tom. v. 1887.]

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Cave, *Historia Litteraria*, ad ann. 448 ; and Du Pin, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs*, art. *Basile de Seleucie* ; also Fabricius, tom. viii. p. 133, on genuineness of this sermon.

And do thou assist my conception, that, being taught by thee, I may be enabled to speak concerning thee, not indeed so as to explain the Incarnation, which is impossible, 'but that thou becamest a mother yet didst remain a virgin.'"

\* \* \* \* \*

"Being bound together, therefore, in the bonds of charity, let us address to the Mother of God such words as these: O most holy Virgin! whosoever shall say all great and glorious things concerning thee will not err from the truth, but he will come short of thy merits. Do thou look down propitiously upon us from above, and peacefully direct us now upon earth; and at the throne of judgment lead us forward full of confidence, and make us stand at the right hand of Christ, etc., etc."<sup>1</sup>

St. Basil the Great, a century earlier, bears the same witness:—

"Whosoever is in any strait flies unto the forty, whosoever is joyful betakes himself to them: the former, to find escape from his troubles; the latter, that his prosperity may be preserved. Thus a pious woman is found praying for her children, asking a return for her husband when absent, health for him when sick. Let your prayers be with martyrs."<sup>2</sup>

Thus runs the passage in the Greek, but a

<sup>1</sup> Combefis, *Auctorium*, tom. i. 570, *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> St. Basil, *Hom. in xl. Mart.*

Latin translator substituted the imperative for the indicative, and read thus, "Let him flee to them," and again, "Let him pray to them." Cardinal Bellarmine followed this reading, and was severely taken to task for doing so by Bishop Andrewes;<sup>1</sup> but perhaps the translator did only set forth the meaning of the saint; and Fronto Ducæus remarks:—

"This passage of St. Basil not the less favours the intercession and invocation of saints, as it is evident that this holy Father would never have brought these things forward as an example to be imitated if he did not approve of them, or if they could be suspected of the crime of idolatry."<sup>2</sup>

And even Vossius admits that—

"this zeal on the part of the people was not disapproved by St. Basil; for this is sufficiently shown by the address to the martyrs which he subjoins."<sup>3</sup>

St. Chrysostum, the contemporary of St. Basil, in his writing, "On the Burning Pile of St. Drosis," says—

"O admirable pile! what a treasure it had within it, dust and ashes more precious than all gold, more

<sup>1</sup> Andrewes, *Resp. ad Bellarm.*, ad cap. i. [Anglo-Cath. edit., p. 50.]

<sup>2</sup> *Nota in loc.*

<sup>3</sup> *Disp.* [II.] *thesi prima.* Cit. by Forbes, Edin.

fragrant than all ointments, more valuable than jewels. For the relics of martyrs accomplish what neither gold nor riches can accomplish; for gold has never driven away disease nor put death to flight, but the bones of martyrs have done both.”<sup>1</sup>

And, in another place,—

“You have no doubt felt much even towards these saints [SS. Bernice, Prosdoce, and Domnina]; with this ardour, therefore, let us fall down before their relics, and embrace their shrines; for the shrines of the martyrs can have much virtue, even as the bones of martyrs have great power. And not only on the day of this festival, but on other days also, let us approach them and invoke them and entreat them to become our patrons. For they have great power with God, not only when living, but now that they are dead: and much rather because they are dead; for they bear upon them the wounds of Christ, and when they show their wounds they can persuade anything to their king.”<sup>2</sup>

St. Cyril of Alexandria, who was born in 375, or thereabouts, and died in 444, says:—

“Hail, Mary, Mother of God, venerable treasure of the universe, inextinguishable lamp, crown of virginity, sceptre of orthodoxy, temple which cannot be destroyed, . . . through whom the Holy Trinity is

<sup>1</sup> Edit. Ben., tom. ii. 697.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, tom. ii. 645.

glorified, through whom the precious cross is celebrated and adored all over the world, . . . through whom churches are founded throughout the universe, through whom nations are brought to repentance. . . . What mortal is capable of adequately celebrating the most glorious Mary?"<sup>1</sup>

"Hail, Mary, Mother of God, through whom every faithful soul is saved! Hail, Mary, Mother of God, for through thee the waves of ocean have safely and peacefully carried our fellow-servants and brethren in the ministry [to Ephesus]." <sup>2</sup>

Eucherius, who flourished at the end of the fourth century and in the first half of the fifth, writes:—

"Doubtless more dear and grateful will it be to the blessed martyrs if they be worshipped with fervent affection where they suffered their bitter passion; if, then, the sacrifices of prayer be offered to them where they fell a sacrifice to God; if their posterity offer vows to them where savage cruelty shed their blood."

Eunapius, the pagan sophist<sup>4</sup> (346–414), speaks

<sup>1</sup> L. and C. *Concilia*, tom. iii. col. 584.

<sup>2</sup> S. Cyril. *Opera* [Migne, *Pat. Græc.*, tom. lxxvii. 1034]. I am not quite certain of the meaning of this passage, as to whether the result was the outcome of her prayers or of her Childbearing.

<sup>3</sup> *Hom. in SS. Epipod. and Alex.* [Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, l. 862.]

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Dr. Lardner's *Heathen Testimonies to the Credibility of the Gospel History*.

of the Christians as carrying the bones of the martyrs, "showing them for gods, and kneeling before them, and laying prostrate at their tombs." And Julian the Apostate made the same charges against them, showing clearly the value at that time set on their patronage in the eyes of Christians.<sup>1</sup>

Eusebius of Cæsarea (circ. 260-339) quotes with approval the words of Plato, and adds:—

"And truly these remarks are very applicable to the deaths of the illustrious servants of God, whom you rightly call the soldiers of true religion. For we are accustomed to glorify their sepulchres, there to offer prayers and vows, and to venerate their blessed souls; and we declare that we are right in doing these things."<sup>2</sup>

St. Gregory Nazianzen, of whom more by-and-by, and who lived from 302-392, declares, against Julian the Apostate, that by the martyrs

"devils are driven out and diseases cured, that they appear to men and predict the future, that even their bodies have the same power as their sacred souls, whether they be touched or venerated, and that the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S. Cyril Alex., *Contr. Jul.*, lib. x.

<sup>2</sup> *Præparatio Evang.*, lib. xiii. cap. ii. [Migne, *Patr. Græc.*, tom. xxi., col. 1095.]

very drops of their blood and the small symbols of their passion have as much power as their bodies.”<sup>1</sup>

And St. Gregory Nyssen (circ. 335–395), his contemporary, addresses St. Theodore thus :—

“Intercede for thy country to our Common King and Lord. The greatest dangers surround us. . . . Warrior, fight for us! Martyr, intercede with courage in favour of your compatriots, since you know in the other world the pains and needs of men. Obtain for us peace, that our holy assemblies be no more disturbed. . . . We pray you not to deprive us of your protection. If there is needed a still stronger prayer, assemble the company of martyrs, your brethren, and pray with them, all together. The prayer of many just ones covers the people’s sins.”<sup>2</sup>

In the “Life of St. Ephrem the Syrian” we find the following :—

“And do thou, standing before the divine Altar and ministering with the angels to the life-giving and most holy Trinity, remember us all, begging for us

<sup>1</sup> *Contra Julian I.*, Orat. iv. [Migne, *Pat. Græc.*, tom. xxxv. 589.]

<sup>2</sup> *Orat. de S. Theodoro.* [Migne, *Pat. Græc.*, tom. xlv. col. 746, 747.] The whole oration should be read. Chamierus, indeed, suspects this oration to be spurious, and Bishop Andrewes agrees with him, but apparently without any sufficient reason, and Bishop Forbes of Edinburgh points out that neither Vossius, Cocus, nor Rivetus give any support to this suspicion. *Vid.* Forbes, *Consid. Mod.*, vol. ii. p. 241.

remission of sins and admission to the eternal kingdom in Christ Jesus our Lord."

St. Paulinus of Nola (circ. 535-431) thus addresses St. Felix :—

"O Father, O Lord, listen to thy unworthy servants. . . . Make the paths through the waters easy, drive away the obstacles placed in our way, and give us a happy voyage."<sup>1</sup>

"Under thy leadership I have crossed the seas, I have felt thy protection, overcoming by the power of Christ the angry waters, and I go always in safety through thy succour, whether on land or by sea."<sup>2</sup>

From no writer is the prevalence of the practice of invocation more evident. It is the atmosphere he breathes, and I quote the following, which gives a fair idea of the spirit of his writings :—

"The eighteenth poem, sixth in honour of Felix, describes in hexameters the discovery of his tomb, mentions the five churches built around it, and how the country people not only came themselves but brought their animals also to be cured of their

<sup>1</sup> *Poema* xii., *De S. Felice*, vers. 10, 26, *et seqq.* [Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, tom. lxi., 463.]

<sup>2</sup> *Poema* xiii., *De S. Felice*, v. 14. [Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, tom. lxi. 464.]

maladies by the saints' influence. He relates a wondrous tale of a countryman whose two oxen, his whole property, were stolen from him, but restored by night unexpectedly after long prayer at the saint's tomb, continued in spite of the opposition of the guardians of the church. Nor was this all, for by much weeping he had injured his sight, and this also he prayed might be restored to him.

‘O saints, that hadst mercy when I lost my oxen,  
Have mercy now that I have lost my eyes.’

The people laughed at him, but his prayer (Paulinus says) was heard, his eyes regained their sight, and he went home rejoicing over his oxen recovered and his eyesight restored” (*Carm.* xviii.).<sup>1</sup>

The author I have just quoted remarks—

“That he believed devoutly in the power and influence of departed saints, including their relics, there can be no doubt; his whole life, from the time of his retirement to Nola [A.D. 394], may be said to turn upon this belief.”<sup>2</sup>

The following quotation from Theodoret (circ. 386–457) clearly shows direct invocation, and is all the stronger as it is put in the historical form :—

<sup>1</sup> *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, voce “Paulinus of Nola,” vol. iv. p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244.

“But the shrines of the martyrs, glorious in their victory, are grand, magnificent, and conspicuous in size, and manifoldly adorned, and sending forth flashes of beauty. And to these, not once or twice in the year, or even five times, do we go, but oftentimes we hold solemn assemblies, and often every day offer hymns to their Lord ; and they who are in health beg for the preservation of their health ; they that are wrestling with any sickness ask a riddance from their sufferings ; the childless men ask for offspring, and barren women for children. And they who have gained this gift ask that their gifts may be preserved perfect ; and those who are setting out upon any journey implore them to become their fellow-travellers and guides on the way ; and they who have gained their return offer the acknowledgment of the favour, drawing nigh to them, not as gods, but approaching them as devout men, and beseeching them to be intercessors on their behalf. But that they who faithfully ask obtain the things which they ask, their votive offerings clearly testify, manifesting the healing ; for some offer models of eyes, others of feet, and others of hands ; and some of them fashioned of gold, others of silver. For their Lord receives the small and cheap things too, measuring the gift by the power of the offerer. But the things which are there testify the ceasing of the sufferings, whereby they are placed as memorials by those who have become whole. And these things

proclaim the power of those buried there ; and their power shows that their God is the true God.”<sup>1</sup>

In the presence of such passages, it is absurd and disingenuous to quote his condemnation of the “worshipping of angels,” as though it was in any way contradictory to his remarks on the cultus and invocation of the saints.<sup>2</sup>

St. Victricius of Rouen, at the end of the fourth century, leaves no doubt of his teaching and practice.

“The martyrs, as I have said, are sometimes more brilliant than the sun. But now, beloved, we must pray and not talk rhetorically ; we must pray, I say, that all the assaults of the devil may be repelled, for he secretly endeavours to enter our hearts. Strengthen then, O ye saints, strengthen your worshippers, and fortify our hearts with the corner stone. The enemy is dangerous and strong, he looks hard at all approaches and entrances. But nothing is to be feared, so great is the multitude of saints who assist us.”<sup>3</sup>

It has commonly been declared by Protestants

<sup>1</sup> *Græc. Affect. Curat.*, lib. viii., *De Martyribus*. Translation by Bishop Forbes of Brechin, p. 414.

<sup>2</sup> If any one wishes to see this matter drawn out, and how far prejudice can go in citing authorities, compare Chemintz's treatment of this point. *Exam. Conc. Trid.*, p. iii., *De Invoc. Sanct.*, p. 205, edit. Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 1578.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber de Laude Sanctorum*. [Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, tom. xx. 455.]

that no earlier examples of invocation of the saints could be found than those already cited, and from this they have deduced the opinion that the practice was not of apostolic institution. On this point I am not at all interested, for since it is a practice and not a doctrine, had it been introduced by all the holy bishops, theologians, and saints of the whole world at any given date, say two hundred years ago, it would have come with the same authority and weight as if it had been explicitly found in Ignatius, Clement, and Polycarp. My investigations, then, are purely in the interests of sound learning and archæology, and not for the purpose of increasing authority for the practice.

Now I beg the reader to notice that these Fathers which have just been quoted represent every part of the then world. Nazianzen, Nyssen, Chrysostom, and Basil at Constantinople and in Asia Minor, Ambrose at Milan, Augustine on the African coast, Victricius at Rouen in France. Is it possible that all these should have at the same time invented a new practice, and taught it to the people, and yet that there should not be the least intimation on their parts that there was anything unusual in their teaching?

And what, perhaps, is still more remarkable, no one was found to enter a protest, so far as we have any record, either in the East or West ; and the one man that came the nearest to doing so, Vigilantius, was looked upon by the whole Church as a heretic for his denial of what was considered a doctrine of the faith. These Fathers, the most learned, most holy, and most authoritative of all, being doctors of the Latin and Greek Churches respectively, were evidently of opinion that they were continuing an ancient practice, and observing the tradition of the Church in invoking the saints. Of this, we have the most absolute proof in the case of St. Gregory Nazianzen. He is so firmly convinced of the antiquity of the practice, that he sees no reason to doubt the genuineness of the "Acts of the Martyrdom of Justina," but quotes them as authentic. Now, these acts to-day are universally recognized as spurious, *i.e.* of earlier date than St. Gregory Nazianzen, but later than St. Cyprian, and yet St. Gregory saw no reason to doubt that they might have been written as they claimed, and believed that at that time, viz. about the beginning of the third century, Justina—

“abandoning all other hope, fled to God for refuge, and took as her defender against that accursed passion him to whom she was betrothed,” and that, finally, she “besought the Virgin Mary to aid a virgin in danger,” and so was delivered.

Bishop Andrewes disingenuously tries to avoid the force of this passage by saying that—

“the act of that girl was not indeed blamed by St. Gregory Nazianzen, but when many of the same sex did the same thing, it was sharply reproved by St. Epiphanius in the Collyridians.”

This objection, unworthy of so holy a man and so great a scholar, is thus answered by Bishop Forbes of Edinburgh:—

“It was merely the religious adoration of the Blessed Virgin, by prayer properly so called and by oblations, that St. Epiphanius sharply reproved, and most deservedly, in the Collyridians; but neither he nor any other of the Fathers find fault with the bare addressing of her that by her prayers she would help us before the Lord.”<sup>1</sup>

I am not urging that this is proof that St. Gregory was right in his opinion, and that this is proof of the existence of the practice a century and more before his time; but only as proof

<sup>1</sup> *Consid. Mod.*, vol. ii, p. 241.

that in his time it was so ancient a practice that he had never so much as thought of it as a novelty. It would seem, then, that we may safely bring its date to the end of the third century at least. I quote the passage in full<sup>1</sup> that the reader may notice how naturally the statement is made:—

“IX. And now our discourse has come to the very culminating instance. And let no one through viewing Cyprian’s earlier course give loose to pleasures, but rather from his later days learn self-control. There was a certain virgin of noble blood and modest character. Hear, ye virgins, and rejoice together—yea rather, ye that are under the yoke and are chaste-minded and lovers of chastity; for my story is an adorning for them of both estates. And this virgin was fair exceedingly to look upon; let divine David sing with us unto her, saying: ‘All the glory of the King’s daughter is within,’ true bride of Christ, beauty reserved, [dedicated] a living statue, a votive offering inviolable, a precinct inaccessible, ‘a garden inclosed, a fountain sealed,’ (for let Solomon also sing somewhat to her), kept for Christ alone. Of this maiden the mighty Cyprian became enamoured; occasion and manner I know not, so fortified and so modest was she in all things. For lickerish eyes touch even

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for the translation to my very scholarly friend the Rev. Leighton Hoskins.

what is not to be touched, being the most forward and most insatiable of organs. And not only was he enamoured, but also attempted her. Oh! what silliness, if he hoped that he could despoil her—rather, out upon the impudence and shamelessness that could attempt such acts and seek to induce another to dare them! There was one who crept into Paradise at the beginning to attack the first creature; and takes his stand in the midst of angels to ask that Job be delivered into his hands; and last dares assail the very Master himself, come to undo and slay him, and advance temptation against him that is not to be tempted (for he saw second Adam, the manifestation of God), as though about to master and overthrow even him also. For he was ignorant that he should encounter Godhead, rushing to assault manhood. What marvel, then, if he even attempts, by means of Cyprian, that holy soul and untouched body?

“X. Well then he made his attempt, and employed as agent of seduction not a procuress, some of those wretched crones apt at that trade, but a certain demon, one of those of the body-loving and pleasure-seeking sort; inasmuch as the apostate powers are ready at ministrations of this kind, and envious, seeking to obtain many partners of their own fall. And the wages of this job of procurement were sacrifices and libations, and that conciliation which is made by blood of victims and steam of burnt-

offerings; for such-like wages befitted those who were to grant such favours. But she, as soon as she perceived the evil and was ware of the plot (for pure and godlike souls are the quicker at the chase of the possessing spirit, be he ever so crafty and artful in attack)—what does she do and what counter-device does she employ against the artificer of evil? Abandoning as hopeless all other resources, she flees for refuge to God, and takes for champion against lewd desire her own Bridegroom—him who delivered Susanna and effectually saved Thecla, the one from the embittered elders, the other from a tyrannous suitor and yet more tyrannous mother. Who [do you say] is this? Christ, who both rebukes spirits and rescues those who are going down in the waters, and walks the sea and abandons to the deep the legion of spirits; who both delivereth out of the den the righteous thrown to the lions for food, and victor over the beasts by the stretching out of his hands [in prayer], and delivereth the fugitive prophet swallowed by the sea-monster and yet even in its entrails preserving faith to the end; yea, and saveth the Assyrian children in the flaming fire, refreshingly cooling by his angel their burning pyre, and to the fellowship of the three joining the Fourth.

“XI. Rehearsing these things and more besides, and supplicating Mary the Virgin to succour a virgin in peril, she defends herself with the medicine of fasting and of sleeping on the ground; at once

withering her beauty as treacherous to withdraw material from the flame and exhaust the fuel of the passions, and likewise seeking to propitiate God by faith and humiliation; for of all things God is conciliated by nothing so much as by self-affliction [mortification], and recompenses tears with man-loving mercy. You are eager, I am sure, for the rest of the story. For you are in anxiety for the virgin and for her lover no less, fearing that desire ended in evil for both. But have no fear. For desire comes to be procurer of faith; and the lover seeking a virgin for his betrothed is himself betrothed by Christ; and the flame of desires is quenched, but that of truth is enkindled. How? and in what manner? Here is the most welcome part of my story? The virgin is victor, the demon is vanquished. The tempter comes to the lover, informs him of his discomfiture, is treated with contempt. Unable to bear this contempt, he avenges himself on the contemner. And what is his revenge? He takes possession of him, his whilome worshipper, that evil might be expelled by evil, and frenzy be made the cure of frenzy. He is repulsed from the virgin, like some engine of war from some strong and noble wall, a fugitive from word and prayer; but he grapples him that sent him, turning back (oh! wonder) to him that flung him, and troubling him exceedingly like a second Saul.

“XII. What does he then do—this foolish lover

and sane possessed man? He seeks release from his evil, he finds it : for every creature in distress is quick of resource. What was the release? He flees for refuge to the virgin's God, like Saul to the harp of David and its music ; he goes to her shepherd [*i.e.* bishop] ; he is purged, as of desire by his plague, so of the evil spirit by the faith in Christ ; he abjures his desire ; for a long time disbelieved and repeatedly rebuffed—naturally, for it seemed a thing incredible and marvellous that Cyprian should ever be numbered among Christians, even though all men should believe ; but he does abjure it, and the proof of his change is palpable : he publicly exposes his magic books, triumphs over the weakness of the treasure-house of evil, proclaims their foolishness, raises from them a brilliant flame, consumes with fire the long-accustomed imposture, which had not availed him against one flame of the flesh, deserts the demons, joins the household of God ! Oh ! the grace [of God]—so great as to find out God by way of an evil desire and an evil spirit ! He becomes a holy sheep of the holy flock, and, as I heard from someone, even a sexton, after many entreaties, that he might learn the philosophy of humility as a purgation of his former braggart imposture. After that, he becomes a shepherd [bishop], and the most excellent and esteemed of shepherds. For he presides not only in the Church of the Carthaginians, nor yet in that alone of Africa, famous till now from and because

of him, but also in all the Western Church, yes! and well-nigh all its eastern, southern, and northern portions, even as far as that great man has travelled through marvel [at his fame]. Thus he becomes our Cyprian.”<sup>1</sup>

Now we must most carefully remember the exceedingly conservative character of all the Fathers of the fourth century. It was the time of the Council of Nice and the years immediately succeeding it, and I think I cannot better set forth the unlikeliness of all these Fathers having simultaneously adopted and taught an unheard-of practice, than by quoting one whose words always carry the greatest weight—I refer to the great Mozley. In speaking of the Fathers at Nice, he says—

“Their argument, on every occasion of heresy arising, was one and the same thing, viz. that they had received a certain doctrine from the first, and that this heresy was contrary to it. They said, ‘This is the old doctrine that we have, the old doctrine which the apostles delivered, which has been the doctrine of the Church ever since, which we received from our predecessors as they received it from theirs, and which we now here maintain as

<sup>1</sup> *In laudem S. Cypriani*, Orat. xxiv. [Migne, *Pat. Græc.*, tom. xxxv. 1178.]

we received it. 'The same, the very same,' they repeated; they professed to hold it because it was the same, and for that reason only. They would not receive or listen to any other, for the simple reason that that other was not the same. They shut their ears in horror, the very sound of novelty shocked them, and they seemed polluted by the mere contact of their ears with it. 'Who ever heard of such things?' was the universal cry of the orthodox, on Arianism appearing.<sup>1</sup>"

When this was the temper of the age, is it not impossible to suppose such a practice as the invocation of the saints to have sprung up in every part of the world at the same time, and that without a word of opposition? It is not true of this as of the preceding age, that the literature is scanty. It might well be that, in the few remains we have of the two centuries between the death of St. John and the year 300 A.D., there should be no mention of many practices universally received in the Church; but when one considers the enormous literature we have of the age represented by these Fathers just quoted, it is quite impossible to believe that, had they started a new practice, resting

<sup>1</sup> Mozley, *Theory of Development*, pp. 166, 167.

upon a new or neglected doctrine, some one would not have been found to oppose it, or at least to point out its novelty.

When, then, we find that among the epitaphs in the catacombs there are direct addresses to the saints, we have no cause for astonishment, and are quite ready to assign them an early date.

The witness given by the catacombs of Rome is most clear and unmistakable. The following inscriptions are taken from column ix. of the Lateran Museum—

“Lady Bassilla, we, Crecentinus and Micina, commend to thee our daughter Crescentina, who lived, etc.”

“Matronata Mateona, who lived a year and fifty-two days. Pray for thy parents.”

“Anatolius made this for his well-deserving son, who lived seven years, seven months, and twenty days. May thy spirit rest well in God. Pray for thy sister.”

“Vincentia in Christ. Pray for Phœbe and her husband.”

“Dionysius, an innocent child, now with the saints, remember us in your holy prayers, both the composer and the carver [of this epitaph].”

“Januaria, mayest thou be well refreshed, and pray for us.”

"Sozon Benedictus died at the age of nine years. May the real (*verus*) Christ receive thy spirit in peace; and pray for us."

"——, mayest thou live in peace and pray for us."

"Sabbatius, sweet soul, ask and pray, etc." <sup>1</sup>

Now all these inscriptions are in date earlier than A.D. 409, for, after that year,—

"we are not sure that a single example can be found of burial in the catacombs, except as a special privilege granted to the remains of certain bishops or martyrs brought from foreign countries under the pressure of persecution." <sup>2</sup>

The reader has now the true evidence before him, and that he may form some idea of how these facts have been presented during the past three centuries to English readers, I quote the following from the Very Rev. Dean Field:—

"It is, therefore, an impious conceit of the papists that the saints both can and do know all our inward actions and secret thoughts, . . . and that therefore they are to be honoured and worshipped with spiritual service, or service of the spirit and mind; . . . but

<sup>1</sup> For a history of these inscriptions, see Northcote and Brownlow, *Roma Sotteranea*, part iii., Inscriptions, p. 80, *et seqq.* (London, 1879.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.

neither they ('the century writers') nor we are so ignorant as to think that the invocation of saints or the adoration of them prevailed in the Church within the compass of the first six hundred years."<sup>1</sup>

When facts are thus misrepresented, it cannot be thought strange that curious results should have followed, but little in agreement with the doctrine and practice of the early church. In contrast with such distorted and false representations of Patristic authority, we cite the following passage from the well-known "Dissertations on the Prophecies," by Bishop Newton, which, whatever may be their value and whatever the good bishop's share in their composition, yet show a much truer appreciation of the real state of the case :—

"Read only some of the most celebrated Fathers ; read the orations of Basil on the martyr Marnas, and on the Forty Martyrs ; read the orations of Ephraim Syrus on the death of Basil, and on the Forty Martyrs, and on the praises of the Holy Martyrs ; read the orations of Gregory Nazianzen on Athanasius, and on Basil, and on Cyprian ; read the orations of Gregory Nyssen on Ephraim Syrus, and on the martyr Theodorus, and on Meletius, bishop of Antioch ; read the sixty-sixth and other homilies of Chrysostom ; read

<sup>1</sup> Field, *Of the Church*, bk. iii. ch. xx.

his orations on the martyrs of Egypt, and other orations, and you will be greatly astonished to find how full they are of this sort of superstition, what powers and miracles are ascribed to the saints, what prayers and praises are offered up to them.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, no. 23.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE WITNESS OF THE EASTERN CHURCH.

A NOT infrequent allegation against the practice of invoking the saints is, that it is a "Romish custom." We shall, in answer to this, give the witness of the Churches of the Eastern patriarchates, and thus show that, with the exception of the Church of England for the past three hundred years, it is a catholic custom of all the Churches of God.

First, then, for the contemporaneous teaching of the Greek Church, I quote a catechism published in Athens in 1888, prepared by Ignatius Moschake, set forth by the authority of the Sacred Synod, and also having a warrant of the Bureau of Religion and Public Education, "enjoining the sole use in the schools for a

period of four years,"<sup>1</sup> in which we read as follows:—

"We pray, and we rightly pray, properly speaking, to God alone. And if we pray also to the saints and the Mother of God, we do this, not because we would make gods of them, but in order that we may use them as mediators with God, whose friends they became through their holy lives."<sup>2</sup>

I next quote from "The Holy Catechism" of D. N. Bernardaces, which was awarded the prize of the Patriarch and Synod of Constantinople in the special competition of studies, introduced into the schools by the ecclesiastical authority, and "by the license of the Imperial Ministry of Education."<sup>3</sup>

"*Q.* Do we sin against this commandment because we invoke the Holy Theotocos [Mother of God] and the other saints?

"*A.* We do not sin, because we do not make gods of these saints, but only invoke them to intercede for us with God."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ignatius Moschake, *The Catechism of the Orthodox Eastern Church*, p. 7, transl. by A. Baker. (S.P.C.K., 1894.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> D. N. Bernardaces, *The Holy Catechism*, seventh edit. (Constantinople, 1882). Translated by J. G. Bromage. (London: J. Masters & Co., 1891.)

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Next I quote, for the Russian doctrine upon the subject, "The Longer Catechism," by the Metropolitan Philaret, which was not only licensed, but adopted and promulgated by the Most Holy Governing Synod in 1839.

"Q. Is there unity between the Church on earth and the Church in heaven ?

"A. Doubtless there is, both by their common relation to one Head, our Lord Jesus Christ, and by mutual communion with one another.

"Q. What means of communion has the Church on earth with the Church in heaven ?

"A. The prayer of faith and love. The faithful who belong to the Church militant upon earth, in offering their prayers to God, call at the same time to their aid the saints who belong to the Church in heaven ; and these, standing on the highest steps of approach to God, by their prayers and intercessions purify, strengthen, and offer before God the prayers of the faithful living upon earth, and by the will of God work generously and beneficently upon them, either by invisible virtue or by distinct apparitions, and in divers other ways.

"Q. On what is grounded the rule of the Church upon earth *to invoke in prayer the saints* of the Church in heaven ?

"A. On a holy tradition, the principle of which is to be seen also in Holy Scripture."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Longer Catechism of the Russian Church*, pt. i., art. ix. of

“The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East” must also be quoted. As might be supposed, the matter is treated quite at length. I give a few passages :—

“We therefore ask the mediation of the saints to God that they may pray for us. We call upon them, not as gods, but as friends of God, whom they serve and glorify and worship. And we stand in need of their help, not because they can help us by any power of their own, but because by their ambassage they seek for us the grace of God.”

And further on :—

“But some may say that the saints neither understand nor know what prayers we make. To which objection we answer that, while it is true that they of themselves can know and hear nothing of our prayers, yet all this is given them by revelation and divine grace, which God bestows upon them most plentifully, so that they both know and hear ; just as Elisha knew what his servant was doing on the way (2 Sam. v. 26). In like manner all the saints know and hear the petitions of them that call upon them, by divine revelation. . . . From all this it is manifest

the Creed. Translated from the Slavono-Russian, by R. W. Blackmore. *The Doctrine of the Russian Church*, p. 78. (London, 1845.)

that we in no respect infringe the commandment of God by invoking the saints. For these saints, as the faithful servants of God, and standing near his divine Majesty, act as mediators for us to the only true God.”<sup>1</sup>

I further quote the Confession of Dositheus, patriarch of Jerusalem, which was accepted and made part of its decrees by the synod of Jerusalem (commonly known as the synod of Bethlehem), in A.D. 1672 :—

“We believe that our Lord Jesus Christ is our only Mediator, and that he gave himself as a price for all, and that through his own blood he made reconciliation between God and men, and that he is the advocate of his people and the propitiation for our sins. But for the purpose of carrying our prayers and petitions to him, we say that the saints are our intercessors, and, above all, the immaculate mother of the Divine Word, as also the holy angels. . . . For that we ought to pray one for another, and that the prayer of the just is of much more avail than that of those steeped in sin, we learn from the pages of holy Writ. But not only the holy ones on earth do we confess as our orators and mediators, but especially those who after death, the veils being taken away, contemplate clearly the most holy Trinity, in whose

<sup>1</sup> Ορθόδοξος δμολογία, p. iii. q. lii. apud Kimmel, *Libri Symbolici Eccl. Orientalis*.

infinite light they know what things we are doing on earth.”<sup>1</sup>

The Abbé Guettée (a priest of the Russian Church) neatly expresses the Eastern faith and practice thus :—

“The elect pray for their brethren, just as when they were upon the earth, and if we can ask their prayers while they are yet on this earth, still more may we do so now that they are in a more perfect state. This is what constitutes the invocation of saints.”<sup>2</sup>

And further on—

“When one invokes the Holy Virgin and the saints, one only asks them to obtain for us from God grace and justification, such as Jesus Christ has merited for us, and we do not consider them as mediators with God in the strict acceptation of the term.”<sup>3</sup>

“But the Eastern Catholic Church does not consider that it disobeys the first commandment by authorizing a secondary kind of cultus to be given to the Holy Virgin, to the angels, and to the saints, provided that this secondary cultus keeps itself within certain bounds which distinguish it essentially from

<sup>1</sup> *Dosithei Confessio*, decret. viii., apud Kimmel.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Wladimir Guettée, *Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Église Catholique Orthodoxe*, p. 47, deuxième edit. (Paris, 1884.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

that adoration which is due to God only. The secondary cultus consists, in the first place, in the honour and respect rendered to all that God himself has distinguished; . . . it consists, moreover, in invocation which must not be confounded with prayer, properly so called, which is an evidence of adoration. By prayer we pay to God the homage of our whole being, by invocation we only ask the holy Virgin, the angels, and the saints to pray for us to God. We address ourselves to them as to our brothers who are in glory, and who are nearer to God than we are. We ask their prayers as we ask the prayers of the living. Death has not broken the bands of communion which exist between the faithful.”<sup>1</sup>

In “The Rock of the Faith” we find the following:—

“There is only one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself for the redemption of all. Just as the uniqueness of the heavenly Father does not exclude earthly fathers; nor the uniqueness of Jesus Christ as Teacher and Master exclude the teachers and masters of this world; nor his unique holiness and sovereignty exclude the holiness of the saints, nor the sovereignty of earthly monarchs; so the uniqueness of Christ as

<sup>1</sup> Guettée, *Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Église Catholique Orthodoxe*, pp. 316, 317.

our Mediator does not in any way exclude the mediation of others; only there is a difference between such mediation, and the distance between the one and the other is immeasurable. . . . Jesus Christ is Mediator by nature, and the saints are mediators by grace.”<sup>1</sup>

On this point I shall not consider it necessary to make further quotations than the following, from the learned theologian of the Russian Church, Dr. Macarius, Bishop of Vinnitza and some-time Rector of the Ecclesiastical Academy of St. Petersburg :—

“ In venerating the saints as the faithful servants of God, as his just ones and his special friends, the holy Church invokes them in her prayers, not as gods capable of giving us any assistance by their own power, but as intercessors with God, the only author and dispenser of every gift, and of all grace for all creatures; we recognize them as our intercessors and our mediators, holding their mediatorial power from Jesus Christ, who is, in the proper sense and by himself, ‘ the Mediator between God and men, having given himself for the redemption of all.’ Holy Scripture teaches us this doctrine when it directs us to have recourse to the prayers of the saints as powerful with God; it also points out that the saints, even after

<sup>1</sup> *Doctrine of the Invocation of Saints*, pt. ii. ch. i. bk. ii. p. 254.

their departure from this world, can hear our invocations ; finally, it assures us that they do not cease to pray for their brethren still alive here below, and to come to their aid. . . . If, then, the divine Word recommends us to have recourse to the prayers of the saints while they are still upon earth, and teaches us that their prayers are powerful before God and helpful to us ; if, therefore, such an invocation of saints still alive and with us does not in any way take from the goodness of our heavenly Father, nor detract from the dignity of our Saviour, the only Mediator between God and men, should we not all the more have recourse to the prayers of those saints who have quitted the earth for heaven, and have entered into still closer union with the Lord ?”<sup>1</sup>

Such, then, is the teaching of the Eastern Church upon the subject, which is identical with the official teaching of the Latin Church upon the same subject. When, however, we come to practice, we find that, if possible, the Eastern Church surpasses the Western in the extravagance of the language used in the addresses made to Our Lady and to the other saints. It is true that most of these expressions are found in hymns and anthems, in which hyperbolic expressions are more easily excused ; but

<sup>1</sup> Macarius, *Théologie Dogmatique Orthodoxe*, tom. ii. pp. 660, et seqq. (Paris, 1860.)

it would be difficult to exceed in directness of prayer an address to the Blessed Virgin in the Horologion after the Ἀπόδειπνον which begins Ἀσπιλε, ἀμόλυντε. Moreover, there are numerous manuals of private devotion in modern Greek, printed at Venice and elsewhere, which contain prayers to the Blessed Virgin, to the guardian angel, and to the saints, which, if not copied from, are identical with, those used by Roman Catholics. That the character of these expressions may be understood, I cite a few of those applied to the Blessed Virgin:—

“My whole hope I place in thee.” “Thee we take as our only hope.” “Save our souls.” “Thou art the salvation of Christian folk.” “Mother of God, save our race!” “All-holy Lady, Mother of God. . . . I thank thee that thou hast made me worthy to receive the communion of the spotless body and sacred blood of thy Son.”<sup>1</sup>

And Nicolas Bulgaris, in his explanation of the Divine Liturgy, says—

“But specially prominent in intercession we mention the direct mediatrix with God, exalted above all creation, and our most public patron; and

<sup>1</sup> *The Orthodox Christian's Holy Companion* (in Greek). (1888.) Cf. Notes to Newman's *Letter to Pusey*.

not secretly, but aloud and markedly, not only because of the breadth of her mediation, but also because she is worthy of the worship of hyperdulia both as queen of saints and higher than the very cherubim.”<sup>1</sup>

That such language is exceedingly strange and offensive to our ears is quite true, but yet we should ever bear in mind the admirable remarks of the late William Palmer of Magdalen—

“If any Protestant thinks that by using such expressions he would be offering divine worship to creatures, *he* does right to avoid such expressions, and would be doing wrong if he used them. But if others, using such expressions, assure him that they neither understand nor mean by them any wickedness, but suppose them to be as innocent and as intelligible as any other of those elliptical or hyperbolical expressions which are in the mouths of all men, then he ought in equity and reason to allow them to interpret their own words.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas Bulgaris, *A Holy Catechism*. (Constantinople, 1861.) This catechism has been translated into English by W. E. Daniel, and edited by R. R. Bromage. (London: J. Masters & Co., 1893.)

<sup>2</sup> William Palmer, *Dissertations on Subjects relating to the “Orthodox,” or “Eastern Catholic” Communion*, diss. xvii. p. 247. (London, 1853.)

## CHAPTER X.

### THE OPINIONS OF NON-ROMAN CATHOLICS IN THE WEST UPON THIS PRACTICE.

#### I. FOREIGN PROTESTANTS.

IT is not my intention to gather together all that has been said by Protestants in favour or in apology of this practice, but will refer the reader for such a collection of writers to an "Apologie de la Religion Catholique par des auteurs Protestants," etc., which is found in the "Annali di scienze religiose" (Roma, 1836).<sup>1</sup> It will answer all my purposes first to cite a few Continental Protestants, and afterwards writers of the Church of England.

First, then, may be quoted the following, which is by the Lutheran divine Molanus, the Abbot of Lokkum—

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Perrone (*De Sanc. ino.* cap. iii. 60) for this reference, and have never seen the article myself.

“But the danger of the invocation of saints, which is pretended by the Protestants, will cease if the Romans will publicly declare that they have no trust in the departed saints other than that they have in those that are still alive; that all and every prayer directed to them, no matter in what words or form it may be conceived, is no otherwise to be understood than by way of intercession, so that when they say, ‘Holy Mary, deliver me in the hour of death,’ the sense is, ‘Holy Mary, pray for me to thy Son that he may deliver me in the hour of my death.’ If, moreover, the Romans would teach their people that the invocation of saints is not an universal precept, but by the Council of Trent it is left to every man’s own will whether he will direct his prayers to the saints or to God himself, and that not rashly and without necessity ought the saints to be invoked on every occasion, but principally when any one, by reason of grave and terrible sin, does not dare to raise his eyes, fearing the anger of God, nor direct his prayers immediately to him: and that, moreover, prayer directed to God is far more efficacious than those prayers which are directed to the dead saints: and that that prayer is most perfect of all which, as far as possible, is separate from every creature, and rests alone in the divine attributes.

“But if this matter were thus explained, I do not see that there would be left anything to be desired, unless it be that, since we are uncertain whether the circumstances of our individual needs are known to

the saints, the certainty of their hearing us will always remain a subject of doubt, which doubt might possibly be removed, if the prayer were couched thus : ‘Holy Mary, as far as you know my needs in this or that calamity, pray for me.’ Let others attend to this point, as for me I reserve my judgment. We presume that those harder manners of invoking the saints which are found in the Psalter of Our Lady, in the novenas of St. Anthony, and like expressions of the monks will be omitted, for they are as distasteful to moderate Catholics as they are to us.

“It suffices, however, for Protestants that these formulas, however worded, are to be understood as by the way of intercession. If, however, to any of our people the interpretation given above of ‘Holy Mary, deliver me in the hour of death,’ seems somewhat strained, let them remember, I pray, that such method of speech is not unusual to-day, for example, when a thief or robber has been cast into gaol, and the minister of the king or ruler is addressed by him in such words as follow, ‘Deliver me from the squalor of the prison; deliver me from the sentence of death:’ yet he knows that the power of life and death does not vest in the minister, but only in the king or ruler; and so by this petition he means nothing else than that the minister should intercede for him to the king, that he might be freed from gaol and might escape capital punishment.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Printed in tom. ix. of Bossuet, *Œuvres Complètes*. (Besançon, 1836.)

So much, then, for the Lutheran divine. We now quote the Rev. Paul Ferry, the famous and learned Calvinistic minister at Metz, who wrote in his "Catechism" as follows :—

"We have no doubt that those who die in this faith, and place their trust only in the merits of Jesus Christ which they [*i.e.* the Catholic priests] require of them and of which they make them make confession, can be saved ; since they embrace the true and only means of salvation which is proposed in the Gospel. . . . And what the priest adds about invoking others beside God, not being (as I have said) required as a necessary thing and *being capable of interpretation in a bearable sense*, and in any case being nothing but the hay, of which the apostle speaks, which they heap up upon the foundation, which is Jesus Christ, and which, although it profits them nothing, and that they even lose thereby, yet does not prevent their salvation" (p. 104).

Now this invocation to which Ferry refers, and which he says is "capable of a good meaning" (*pouvant être interprété en un sens tolérable*) is as follows :—

"Have therefore in your heart the memory of the cross and of the wounds of Jesus Christ, invoking to your aid the glorious Virgin Mary, mother of mercy and refuge of poor sinners, likewise your good angel,

and such of the saints as you have in singular and special devotion."

Then the priest adds for the sick man—

"Mary, mother of grace, mother of compassion, defend me from the enemy, and vouchsafe to receive me at the hour of my death. Amen."<sup>1</sup>

I shall next give long quotations from that most interesting book entitled "A System of Theology," by the German Protestant philosopher, Leibnitz. I make the quotations for their intrinsic value, and without any intention of giving an opinion as to how the book is to be looked upon.<sup>2</sup>

"When the saints are invoked, and their aid implored, their aid must always be understood to consist in the prayers which they pour forth with great efficacy in our behalf; as Bellarmine has observed, that 'Help me, O Peter!' or 'O Paul!' is to be regarded as signifying nothing more than 'Pray for me!' or, 'Help me by interceding for me.'"

"It is certain, indeed, that angel-guardians are assigned to us by God. Now, the Scripture compares the saints to angels, and calls them 'equal to

<sup>1</sup> *Agenda of the Diocese of Metz*, 1543, fol. 63.

<sup>2</sup> For a remarkably fair and full treatment of this question, see the Introduction to the English translation by the Rev. Dr. Russell (London, 1850).

angels' (*ἰσαγγέλους*). That the saints have some concern in human affairs, appears to be conveyed by the 'talking of Moses and Elias with Christ;' and that even particular events come to the knowledge of the saints and angels (whether it be in the mirror of the Divine vision, or by natural clearness and wide-ranging powers of vision possessed by the glorified mind) is insinuated in Christ's declaration that there is 'joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth.' Further, that God, in consideration of the saints, even after their death, grants favours to men (although it is only through Christ that the saints, whether of the Old or of the New Testament, possess their dignity), is indicated by the prayers found in the Scriptures, 'Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants' (Ex. xxxii. 13)—a form not very different from that which the Church commonly employs: 'Grant, O Lord, that we may be holpen by the merits and intercessions of thy saints;' that is, 'Regard their labours, which, by thy gift, they have borne for thy name: hear their prayers, to which thy only-begotten Son hath given efficacy and value!'

"Some persons raise a question as to the manner in which the saints can have a knowledge of human affairs. . . . Many are inclined to think that it is in the mirror of the Divine vision the angels and saints see all things. However, if you consider the matter accurately, it will be seen that even now God is the sole immediate object of the mind, outside of the

mind itself; and that it is only through the medium of God our ideas represent to us what passes in the world; for on no other supposition can it be conceived how the body can act on the soul, or how different created substances can communicate with one another. Nay, we should be aware that, in every state of existence, our mind is a mirror of God and of the universe: with this difference, that, in the present state, our view is clouded and our knowledge confused. When, therefore, this cloud shall be withdrawn, and when God shall manifest himself more clearly, we shall see God face to face, and we shall see all other things (as we do even now) in him as the medium; but we shall see them far more clearly, distinctly, and comprehensively than we see them now; partly by the very nature of the mind in its glorified state, partly by an especial grace of God.

“Nor should any wonder at the possibility of an angel or blessed soul’s seeing at a single view the affairs of Asia and of Europe, and, while he embraces so vast a range, penetrating, nevertheless, even into its minutest parts. Let us but reflect how many objects the general of an army, placed on an eminence, reviewing his forces or disposing his line, sees at the same time. Now, if it be considered that the glorified mind’s powers of vision are enlarged in the same proportion as our universe is greater than the plain, all wonder will be at an end. If the vision is extended more than a thousandfold by the use of

telescopes and microscopes, shall we doubt that God can grant to the blessed much more than Galileo or Drebbel has given to us? You will tell me, indeed, that these instruments do not admit of our seeing many things distinctly together, and that in proportion as the field of the tube is increased its power is diminished. It is so, I confess, because in this case the assistance is given to the eyes, which are restricted within certain dimensions ; but in the other case God increases the power of the mind, which has no defined and immovable limits. . . . As the mind, therefore, is capable of considering many objects distinctly at the same time, there is nothing to prevent the number of objects being increased in many thousand ways, without affecting the distinctness of knowledge. And perhaps the ratio of the number of remarkable occurrences among the entire human race to that of the variations which a scientific chess-player has to consider together, is much less than the ratio which the glorified mind bears to ours. For, even here on earth, we see what a vast difference, in applying the mind to many different things together, there is between an unskilled and a practised man ; and we might almost consider miraculous (though we, nevertheless, find it true) the readiness with which some persons can perform the longest calculations by a purely mental act, so as to appear to read them from a manuscript ; and can retain innumerable images of the fancy so perfectly

under view as to be able to select in an instant the particular one which may be required.

“From reasons, however, let us come to examples and authority. It is certain that, even in the second age of the Christian Church, the natal days of the martyrs were celebrated; that religious meetings at their monuments were instituted; and that the prayers of the saints were believed to be profitable. For Origen, a writer of the third century (‘Hom. in Num.,’ c. xxxi.), asks, ‘Who doubts that the saints assist us by their prayers, and confirm and exhort us by the example of their actions?’ He speaks of the opinion, therefore, as a thing thoroughly ascertained and received in his times. . . . It appears from St. Basil the Great and St. Gregory Nazianzen that, in the fourth century, the invocation of martyrs by name, and the belief of their power to assist us, was already received. . . . Now, if it be an act of idolatry, or, at all events, a damnable worship, to address angels and saints, and solicit their intercession in our behalf with God, I do not see how Basil and Nazianzen and Ambrose, and others who have hitherto been accounted saints, can be excused from idolatry, or at least from the foulest abomination. For these practices will not be what are commonly called blemishes of the Fathers, but great and manifest crimes. And there is reason to dread lest views like these may open a way for the subversion of the whole Christian faith. For if it be true that, even from

this early period, such horrible errors prevailed in the Church, the fact will furnish a strong argument for the cause of the Arians and Samosatarians, who date the origin of error from these very times, and insinuate that the mystery of the Trinity and the practice of idolatry were simultaneously introduced. Thus the authority of the early councils is destroyed; and, as we must admit that the most Holy Trinity is not so clearly proved from Sacred Scripture as that we can satisfy every doubt if we set the authority of the Church aside, I leave each one to form his judgment as to where the matter will end. Nay, more daring spirits will carry suspicion further; for they will wonder how Christ, who was so prodigal of promises to his Church, should have, nevertheless, indulged the enemy of the human race, so far as to permit that, after one species of idolatry had been exploded, another should take its place; and that while we see the Jewish and Mahometan religions continue for so many years to maintain incorrupt in a sufficient degree the original constitution of their founders, yet out of the sixteen centuries of Christianity there are scarcely one or two during which the true faith was in any degree preserved among Christians.”<sup>1</sup>

I make one more quotation from this learned and singularly fair author:—

<sup>1</sup> English translation, pp. 71, *et seqq.*

“Although it is a laudable act of reverence to account one’s self unworthy in the sight of God, and to employ every sign of a humble mind (among which signs the employing pious men on earth, and still more the blessed in heaven, to pray with us, is one which not only should not be despised but should be warmly commended), yet, since he himself invites us, it is our duty to obey and approach to him ; lest, instead of filial humility, there grow up a spirit of servile estrangement and distrust. . . . It is necessary, therefore, always to bear these things in mind, in order that, if the intercession of saints be employed, it may be regarded in the light of a supplementary devotion, and of a simple mark of our reverence and humility towards God, and love for God’s friends ; and that the substance of the worship may always be addressed directly to God himself.”<sup>1</sup>

For its intrinsic beauty I quote the following from Longfellow. It cannot be considered as his own opinion, but yet it shows how entirely he grasped our idea of the greatness of God, of the position of the sinner before God, and of the place of the Blessed Virgin in the gospel scheme, in speaking of whom, he makes the Prince Henry say as follows :—

<sup>1</sup> English translation, pp. 83, 84.

“ And even as children, who have much offended  
A too indulgent father, in great shame,  
Penitent, and yet not daring unattended  
To go into his presence, at the gate  
Speak with their sister, and confiding wait  
Till she goes in before and intercedes ;  
So men, repenting of their evil deeds,  
And yet not venturing rashly to draw near  
With their requests an angry father’s ear,  
Offer to her their prayers and their confession,<sup>1</sup>  
And she for them in heaven makes intercession.  
And if our faith had given us nothing more  
Than this example of all womanhood,  
So mild, so merciful, so strong, so good,  
So patient, peaceful, loyal, loving, pure,  
This were enough to prove it higher and truer  
Than all the creeds the world had known before.”<sup>1</sup>

How sad that he that could so write, who knew that faith so well, and who (if report speaks true) was once so near conversion, should have passed hence an alien to the household of God !

## II. WRITERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

It cannot be denied that while most of the grave writers of the Anglican Church have written in favour of the indirect invocation of saints, that is to say, of asking God to hear us on account of the merits and prayers of the

<sup>1</sup> Longfellow, *The Golden Legend*.

saints, yet that they have also usually disapproved the practice of direct invocation, some of them on the Protestant ground that it was an encroachment upon the divine prerogatives and therefore idolatrous ; others, such as the learned Thorndike and Bishop Mountagu, on the supposed uncertainty as to whether the saints can know our desires. Writers of this class acquit the Church of idolatry, and only urge the uselessness of the practice and its lack of ante-Nicene authority. But while this is the case of the majority, there have not been lacking some who, from century to century, lifted up their voices in defence of the Church's ancient practice, and answered those who were repeating over and over again the old objections.

In the sixteenth century we have Cranmer (as is usually admitted) writing in the "Institution of a Christian Man" as follows :—

"Forasmuch as the gifts of health of body, health of soul, forgiveness of sins, the gift of grace or life everlasting, and such other, be the gifts of God and cannot be given but by God, whosoever maketh invocation to saints for these gifts, praying to them for any of the said gifts, or such like (which cannot be given but by God only), yieldeth the glory of God

to his creature, contrary to this commandment. . . . Therefore, they that so pray to saints for these gifts, as though they could give them, or be the givers of them, transgress this commandment, yielding to a creature the honour of God. Nevertheless, to pray to saints to be intercessors with us and for us to our Lord for our suits which we make to him, and for such things as we can obtain of none but of him, so that we make no invocation of them, is lawful, and allowed by the Catholic Church.”<sup>1</sup>

I have already cited another ultra-reforming writer of the same age to the same purport. The reign of Queen Mary, while indeed it restored the ancient practice to the Church, alas! also by the fires of persecution and by the unfortunate Spanish alliance, did much to raise up feeling against anything which was looked upon as distinctively Roman, and therefore it is but little wonder that the refugees, who during Queen Mary's reign had been associating with Protestants on the Continent, should, upon their

<sup>1</sup> *The Institution of a Christian Man*, “Third Commandment.” Reprinted in *Formularies of Faith during the Reign of Henry VIII.*, p. 141, edit. by Chas. Lloyd (Oxford, 1856). The reader will notice the peculiar limitation of the word “invoke,” already remarked upon. That an English writer condemns “invocation of saints” does not necessarily involve his condemnation of “praying” to saints.

return at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, have felt little disposition to write in favour of what was looked upon by all Protestants as a markedly Roman doctrine. Accordingly, so far as I am aware, there was no book written during the latter half of this century by any Churchman, in which this practice is defended.

This brings us to the seventeenth century, when it was unfortunate that King James, soon after coming to the throne, thought it advisable to make an address to all the princes of the world, urging them to unite in what he called true Catholicity, and, in this address, inveighed against the invocation of saints. The king, having taken this position, was immediately answered by the theologians on the Continent, and from this and other causes a constant war was being waged between them and our English writers—a war in which Bellarmine, Du Perron, Suarez, and others figured, and which tended but little to the true understanding of the practice; since men sound in the faith, like Bishop Andrewes, felt they must write in support of the crown, and it is needless to add that others were not slow to follow this example. But even now, God left not himself without

witness, for the profoundly learned William Forbes, bishop of Edinburgh, wrote a whole treatise upon this subject, the only full consideration of the matter ever made since Queen Mary's death up to that date. This treatise is entitled, "*Consideratio Controversiæ Hodiernæ de Angelorum et Sanctorum Intercessione et Invocatione*,"<sup>1</sup> and it contains not only an historical and patristic defence of the doctrine, but also a refutation of the arguments of Crackenthorp, R. Mountagu, Andrewes, etc., against it, as well as a denunciation of the Romish superstitions which have gathered round it. Here I can but commend it most heartily to the reader, and make excerpts sufficient to show the clearness of his conclusions.

"We are not to reject as unlawful (as Protestants now commonly contend) the addressing of angels and saints, that with us, and for us, they should pray to God for us, in spite of the fact, that neither any command, nor any formal example of this thing is to be found in Scripture."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted with an English translation in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*, in *Considerationes Modestæ*, vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglo-Cath. Lib.* : Forbes, *Consid. Mod.*, vol. ii. p. 225.

“For many ages back, throughout the whole Church, in the East no less than in the West, as well as in the North among the Muscovites, the Litany has been sung, as, for example, ‘St. Peter, pray for us.’ But to despise or condemn the universal consent of the whole Church, is a thing perilous to the last degree.”<sup>1</sup>

“Certainly, ‘some of the leaders of the Protestants,’ at the commencement of the Reformation thought and wrote better and more modestly about this addressing of the saints. ‘If they had continued in that opinion, which at the beginning they had held in common with the ancient Church, and had confined themselves to merely finding fault with the abuses, they would,’ perhaps, ‘have consulted better for the authority and peace of the Church,’ as Cassander wisely admonishes us.”<sup>2</sup>

Bishop Forbes died a few years before the Great Rebellion. Again the bishops fled to the Continent, this time to escape from the Protestants, but when they came back at the Restoration, they found their hands full, and it would have been strange indeed if in those sad days, which culminated in the “Revolution” of 1688, any particular attention should have been paid to this question. But now a new

<sup>1</sup> *Anglo-Cath. Lib.*: Forbes, *Consid. Mod.*, vol. ii. p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267.

influence was brought to bear upon the Church. The orthodox clergy were driven from their dioceses, an attempt was even made to induce Convocation to style the Church of England "Protestant," and every means was employed to break down the distinctions between the Anglican Church and Continental Protestantism.

So it continued all through the eighteenth century, and yet even then there were not lacking those who longed for better things, and who, amid the universal wreck, were still struggling for the truth. I have already quoted a most interesting book of this period, lately published under the title of an "Eirenicon of the Eighteenth Century," and now I quote a most remarkable question and answer from a diocesan catechism of that century. I have never seen the book, and take the quotation bodily from the "Advertisement" to "Devotions on the Communion of Saints," by Charles Walker.<sup>1</sup>

"In a book published in 1722 or 1733 by 'the late Lord Bishop of Exeter,' occurs the following question and answer:—

<sup>1</sup> London, 1869.

“‘ Q. For what reason hath the Church ordained one solemnity in memory of all the saints?

“‘ A. That so at least we might obtain the prayers and patronage of them all, seeing the year is much too short to afford us a particular feast for every saint.’”

In the present Century, and since the wonderful growth of Catholic practice and belief among us, many have been found to write on this subject in defence of antiquity, but none more wisely and conclusively than the late Bishop Forbes of Brechin (the friend and disciple of Mr. Keble and Dr. Pusey), in his “Explanation of the XXXIX. Articles,” a book so widely known and esteemed that it is quite unnecessary to make from it any quotation, and I shall content myself with referring my readers to its pages. I may perhaps also mention Canon Humble’s admirable treatment of the subject in “Tracts for the Day,” and the article in Mr. Blunt’s “Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology.”

I close this catena with some words of the late Bishop Edward Harold Browne of Winchester, which occur in his excessively anti-Roman “Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles.”

“ If indeed, we could be quite certain that our departed friends could hear us, when we spoke to them, there might possibly be no more evil in asking them to continue their prayers for us than there could be in asking those prayers from them whilst on earth, —no evil, that is, except the danger that this custom might go further and so grow worse. This, no doubt, was all that the interpellation of the martyrs was in the early ages ; AND IF IT HAD STOPPED HERE, IT WOULD HAVE NEVER BEEN CENSURED.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Art. xxii. The capitalization is mine.

## CHAPTER XI.

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

I HAVE now laid the whole case before the reader, and he is in possession of all the information necessary to lead him to a true conclusion. I think I have shown that the doctrine that the saints *in patriâ* pray for us to God is *de fide* in the Church, being revealed by God in Holy Scripture, and gathered thence by the unanimous consent of the Fathers, and accepted as the truth of God by all the whole Church. As this is the only doctrine underlying the practice of asking the saints for their prayers, it follows that in such invocation there is nothing contrary to sound doctrine. But it is possible that a practice may be wholly consonant with sound doctrine and yet quite unauthorized and useless. I have examined the matter under both these heads, and have

proved that the practice of invoking the saints is authorized by the unanimous consent of all Christian teachers and doctors, *nemini contradicente*, during all the ages—and that not only in later times, but as far back as we possess any writings upon the subjects; and that such approval is not limited to any one part of the Church, but in every part alike. Of the Catholic authority, therefore, of the practice, there can be no more doubt than of the certain truth of its underlying doctrine. With regard to the usefulness of the practice, I have pointed out how this in no sense depends upon the answer we give to the question as to whether the saints know the needs of the living and can hear their prayers. Even were the benefit only subjective, consisting in bringing the saints to one's remembrance and in stirring the heart to a longing to follow their examples, the usefulness of the practice would be abundantly evident. But I have further shown that, without daring to define dogmatically how it may come to pass, all Christian writers agree that the saints do have some knowledge of what is happening on earth, and that that knowledge is limited only by the will of God. On this firm conviction,

they urged the observance of this practice upon their people, as I have shown ; and, in the face of the witness of so many saints, of whom not a few give personal evidence of the fruits they have received from such invocation, it would be the height of rashness and presumption to deny either the truth of the saints' knowledge or the usefulness of their invocation. I have further shown that there is good reason to believe that the article of the Creed, "The Communion of Saints," was especially introduced so as to set forth the cultus of the saints, including their invocation, against the heresy of Vigilantius. And, finally, I have shown that the doctrine is held and the practice in vogue in the Eastern Church to-day, and that it has found adherents or apologists among Protestants, and that in no century has there failed to be found in our own communion some to defend it against the prevailing feeling of condemnation.

I do not know what more can be asked for with regard to any pious practice ; and if the foregoing argument is not sufficient to prove that the invocation of saints is a godly practice, part of "the precious lading of the ship" of the Catholic Church, which (to use the phrase

already quoted of the Archbishop of York) was at the Reformation "too rashly cast out," I am at a loss to know what would be such.

I think we may well conclude, therefore, that this is one of those points upon which reconsideration of our position is much needed. I have shown that, by God's good providence, neither the underlying doctrine nor the practice of the invocation of saints is contrary to our formularies; that the most that can be said is that the practice is omitted and its use thereby discouraged. We are not called upon to approve every act of the Reformation, nor, on the other hand, are we called upon to condemn the leaders of that movement for all that we may now think worthy of reconsideration and of readjustment. I have pointed out that it is quite conceivable that superstitions and errors had become so connected with the practice that it was, humanly speaking, impossible to purge it, and yet the Church's dictum stands for ever true, "The abuse of a thing cannot take away the lawful use thereof," and, in view of the evidence submitted, may we not seriously consider how far we are bound to restore a "lawful use" of the invocation of saints?

I suppose there is no difference between our Prayer-book and the office books of the rest of the Church, both East and West, so marked as the entire absence from the former of all reference to the saints, either in asking them for their prayers, or even of asking God to remember them and “all their troubles.” The Blessed Virgin is mentioned by her name, Mary, outside of the Creeds, but once in the entire Prayer-book, viz. in the Proper Preface for Christmas Day, which is used only on eight days in the year! And even indirect mention of the Virgin as an instrument of the incarnation is found most rarely—once in *Te Deum*, and again in the Collect for Christmas Day. Surely it is a lamentable deficiency that that human name which, after the sacred name of Jesus, is dearest to every Christian heart is practically banished from our public devotions. It is true that our theologians speak very differently. Even the Puritan bishop Hall says, “Blessed Mary! he does not honour thee too much who maketh not a goddess of thee.” And Bishop Pearson, than whom no more famous a divine ever lived in our Church, writes—

“What expressions of honour and admiration can we think sufficient now that Christ is in heaven and that mother with him ! We cannot have too reverent a regard unto the mother of our Lord, so long as we give her not that worship which is due unto the Lord himself.”

In our own day, Mr. Keble wrote—

“Ave Maria ! Thou whose name  
All but adoring love may claim.”<sup>1</sup>

And Dr. Pusey, in the same spirit, summing up and following St. Cyril of Alexandria, declares—

“She was the mother of our Redeemer, and so from her as the fountain of his human birth came all which he did, and was, and is to us. She, being the mother of him who is our life, became the Mother of Life ; she was the Gate of Paradise, because she bore him who restored to us our lost Paradise ; she was the Gate of Heaven, because he born of her ‘opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers ;’ she was the all-undefiled Mother of Holiness, because ‘the Holy One born of her was called the Son of God ;’ she was the Light-clad Mother of Light, because he who indwelt her and was born of her ‘was the true Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world.’ ”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Keble, *The Christian Year*, “Feast of Annun. B. V. M.”

<sup>2</sup> E. B. Pusey, *Eirenicon*, pt. ii., pp. 27, 28.

But the Prayer-book is in curious contrast to all this, and we who lay claim to following the example of the primitive Church, can find but scanty defence for this our liturgical neglect. Moreover, the other saints are likewise all but ignored, except indeed the apostles; and even of them nothing is asked, nor apparently is anything desired.

When we feel compelled, hereafter, to condemn others for excess, we may well pause to consider whether we ourselves have pursued the happy mean, or whether we have not fallen equally into excess, only in the opposite direction.

One source of much misunderstanding in this whole matter has been the use of the word "worship." In our ordinary nowadays English, "worship" is confined to the religious cultus of Almighty God, and therefore, when we are told that Catholics worship the Virgin Mary and the saints, we are shocked and feel, if we do not say (as, alas! has been too often the case), that they are idolators. But all this difficulty would be removed if we were to remember that the word "worship," neither in English, nor in Latin, nor in Hebrew, bears properly any such exclusive sense, but can be

used, and often is used, of that reverence which the inferior creature owes and pays to the superior creature. Thus in our Bibles we read that the humble man at the feast, when he was exalted, had "worship" of all those who were at table with him (Luke xiv. 10), and that on a certain occasion the people bowed their heads and "worshipped God and the king" (1 Chron. xxix. 20); and in the Prayer-book, we read, "With my body I thee worship." Moreover, this very meaning was fixed upon the word for all time by the second council of Nice,<sup>1</sup> which expressly declared that divine worship should be offered to the Holy Trinity alone, and this it styled "latria."

Such, then, being the case, it is evident that there is nothing in the expression "the worship of the saints" that any sound Protestant need object to, and the only question remaining between us and those who differ from us is one of degree—to wit, as to the bounds and limits of such worship, for there is no Christian who can deny that the Lord's mother and his friends the saints should receive from us the deepest veneration and reverence.

<sup>1</sup> Labbe and Cossart, *in loco*.

Another misrepresentation which this explanation entirely removes, is that which has found expression in the term "Mariolatry," which means giving the supreme divine worship called "latria" to the Blessed Virgin. But when we understand that by the faith both of the Roman Catholic and of the Greek Churches such an act would be idolatry, we see that it can exist only in the minds and imagination of Protestants ; and since it has no other existence, it cannot be a barrier between our brethren and ourselves. We may be convinced that the secondary worship called "dulia," which they give the saints, is excessive, but "latria" it certainly cannot be. Moreover, the very fact that the whole Catholic Church addresses to the Holy Mother the words "Pray for us" is absolute proof that it in no sense treats her as a god, but as a creature, for it is the prerogative of the Creator to hear prayer, while it is the characteristic of the creature to pray. This bogle, then, which has been scaring Protestants out of their wits for generations, entirely disappears ; it not only has no existence, and never had any existence, but, by the very meaning of the word, can have no existence in any part of the Catholic Church.

While, then, we gladly hail anything and everything which will help to remove those obstacles to godly union which have been too long blinding our understandings and hardening our hearts, we must take heed lest in a moment of reaction we are ready to overlook and condone what more deliberate thought will convince us to be grave corruptions in faith and practice. It is sad to feel it necessary to dwell upon what is so painful, and fain would I hide the faults I see, and yet truth compels me to protest against the saying, or even the thought, that Mary is more merciful than Jesus; or that prayer to her is more profitable and sure of being heard than prayer to him. We cannot, with loyalty to our blessed Lord, allow that such opinions are ever tenable among Christian folk.

But when one's mind is enlightened as to the many corruptions which have sprung up in connection with any practice, we must still remember that "the abuse of a thing taketh not away the lawful use thereof" (as we learn in our own Canon on the Use of the sign of the Cross), and that the prevalence of abuses should by no means make us lukewarm either in our own

efforts to use the good thing without such abuses, or in doing our best endeavour by the example of a lawful use to correct such unlawful abuse of a good and laudable practice.

But I pause here to utter a word of warning. The reader would entirely misread the mind of the writer, were he to suppose that his object in writing the foregoing treatise was to encourage the introduction of such invocations into our public worship at the private will of the individual priest. Such would surely not be "the lawful use thereof," but would in itself be an "abuse," and it is a sorry way of restoring a lawful practice by setting an example of anomia.

Nor can I close without confessing my own deep sense of the debt of gratitude which we owe to the Reformers, who have removed from our devotions every appearance even of superstition. God forbid that the day should ever come when the puerilities and frauds practised among us before the Reformation, under the guise of the cultus of the saints, the dear friends of God, should be revived. There were crying evils to be corrected, and, praise God, they have been corrected, and may he in his good providence save us from their baleful presence. But

while this I feel to be most true, yet by our present position, which I think I have shown to be un-Catholic and contrary to the mind of the Fathers and of the whole Church of God, we are hindering the good work of pruning away superstitions which otherwise we might assist in.

So long as the other parts of the Church, East and West, find us so completely at variance in our practice with that of the ancient Church of God, we cannot expect them to listen to our admonitions. So long as it is understood that we reject the practice altogether, when we find fault with them for corruptions which otherwise they might be willing to correct, their ready answer is, "You are heretical upon the whole subject. You only attack what you call the corruptions, with the real intention of attacking the entire practice." And we must sadly acknowledge that in too many cases the retort is not only plausible but true.

It is for the Church in her corporate capacity to prescribe the order of public worship, and gladly as we should hail the return of the interpellation of the saints to the Litany, such return, to be helpful of the great end for which we are working, must be made by authority, not by the

individual. But while this is true of public worship, it is by no means the case with our own private devotions, when out of regard to the pious practice of our Christian forefathers, time out of mind, we may well call upon the saints for their prayers and patronage. And in this connection I would direct attention to the exhortation of the Apostle St. James :—

“Do not err, my beloved brethren. Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights. Wherefore, my beloved brethren, be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath. Lay apart all superfluity of naughtiness, and receive with meekness the engrafted word, which is able to save your souls. But be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only. Whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein, he being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed in his deed.”

To invoke the saints is certainly within the “law of liberty” of the Anglican Church. Be a doer and not a hearer only, and shall it not be true in your case, as in that of such a countless multitude of others, “you will be blessed in your deed?”

But should my readers not even go with me

so far as this, I flatter myself that no one can have read carefully the foregoing pages without acknowledging to himself that such a practice, with such a history, may well be tolerated, and should not be a cause of separation among brethren ; and that from its advocacy and use by so many who have been held great in the Church for their holiness and learning, it should always be spoken of with the greatest respect and deference. Should such an attitude be assumed towards the practice by all the members, and especially by the bishops and clergy of our communion, I am sure that the day of reunion of the now apparently divided parts of Christ's one mystical Body would be hastened ; which blessed consummation may the King of all the saints accomplish in his time. Amen.

A.M.D.G.



## APPENDIX.

### THE SAINTS TRIUMPHANT AND THE SOULS EXPECTANT.

I DID not think it well to involve the treatment of the invocation of saints with the cognate subject of eschatology in general. As I have already stated, the practice of which I was tracing the history and authority does not necessarily rest upon any particular view of what has been called the topography of the transmortine country. I have thought it well, however, to add this Appendix, in which I have endeavoured to set forth the view which I believe to have in its favour the Holy Scriptures, the vast majority of the Fathers and theologians of the Church, and which would seem to agree best with the formularies of the Anglican Church. That this view is at variance with that espoused lately by some authors of repute and learning makes it all the more necessary that it should be fully stated, and the grounds on which it rests set forth. This I have endeavoured to do in the following pages, which are

a revised reprint of an Appendix to my "Digest of Theology."<sup>1</sup>

## I.

In this essay I shall take the argument from Holy Scripture first ; next, the witness of antiquity ; and last, the doctrine of Christians to-day.

And first let me lay down a broad principle, which has been too often lost sight of. The condition of the faithful dead is quite different since our Lord's death, descent into hell, and ascension, from what it was before. He led the prisoners out of the prison-house, and broke the gates of brass, and burst the bars of iron in sunder. This being so, no text describing the condition of the departed can be *conclusive* except it refer to souls after the Ascension. I say conclusive, for we may argue from the less to the greater, and infer that if the blessed souls in the old condition of servitude to death had knowledge of a certain kind, they have in their now perfect and freed condition greater knowledge, etc. ; but this is argument and logical deduction, not, strictly speaking, revelation. In examining, then, this matter, the only texts which are really decisive are those in the Acts, the Epistles, and the Revelation, and for this brief essay, which does not pretend to be an exhaustive discussion of the subject, but merely a proof upon sufficient

<sup>1</sup> H. R. Percival, *A Digest of Theology*. (J. Masters & Co., London.)

evidence of the position taken, I shall omit all others.

There is one point upon which all are agreed, and this I shall take for my starting-point, viz. that "Christ sitteth at the right hand of God," and that he sat down upon the mediatorial throne when "he ascended into heaven." That Jesus Christ is in heaven is an Article of "the Christian faith as contained in the Apostles' Creed." Of course it is true that the substance of the Godhead is omnipresent, and that the Godhead fills all things, but it is not true that the Incarnate Son in his sacred humanity is omnipresent; quite the reverse; he is present corporally and locally only in heaven at the right hand of the Father. On this point there can be no dispute. If then any human soul is "with Christ," it is manifest that that soul must be where Christ is, and as Christ is in heaven, it is further manifest that that soul must be in heaven. Now, this is exactly where St. Paul tells us in two places he would be after death. In 2 Cor. v. 8, we read, "We are confident and willing rather to be absent from the body and to be present with the Lord." On this passage Alford's note seems most profound: "The Apostle . . . carefully chooses the words . . . to express, as he does in Phil. i. 23, . . . that τὸ ἀναλῦσαι is equivalent to σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι . . . which is all that is revealed to us . . . of the *disembodied state* of the blessed." Now, if there is one thing plain to any man not blinded with prejudice, it

is that here, and in Phil. i. 23, St. Paul plainly teaches that his soul would be with Christ until the resurrection, when it would be returned to his body. Nor is this any modern interpretation, but the same is given by St. Gregory the Great in his 'Dialogues,' which I think may sufficiently dispose of this point: "*Peter*—I am well pleased at what you say; but I would gladly know whether before the resurrection of the flesh the souls of the just are received into heaven? *Gregory*—We can neither affirm nor deny this of the just *en masse*. For there are souls of the righteous kept out of the heavenly kingdom, for what reason, except that they are not yet perfected! But, nevertheless, it is clearer than day (*luce clarius constat*) that the souls of just men made perfect after they are delivered from their carnal prisons are immediately received to their heavenly places. Which the very Truth himself attests when he saith, 'Wheresoever the body is, there will the eagles be gathered together,' because where our Redeemer himself is in body, there without any doubt will the souls of the just be gathered together. Moreover, Paul desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ. Whoever then does not doubt that Christ is in heaven, neither let him deny that the soul of Paul is in heaven (*esse in cœlo negat*). For he, when speaking of the demolition of his body and of his dwelling in the heavenly home, says, 'for we know that if the earthly,' etc., 2 Cor. v."<sup>1</sup> After so plain a text and

<sup>1</sup> St. Greg., *Dial.*, lib. iv. cap. xxv.

so perfectly conclusive an argument from so high an authority, it might seem unnecessary to proceed any further, for here at least the legal maxim *ab uno disce omnes* is fully applicable. It may not be amiss to add that the two famous commentators, Lapide and Estius, treating of these texts, give it as their opinion that they are conclusive against the gainsayer.<sup>1</sup> If Paul be now in heaven, others, whose souls were in the same state as his at the hour of death, must be there also, and the words of the Prayer-book are proved true: "Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of just men made perfect after they are delivered from their earthly prisons."

The second text which I shall discuss is in the Book of the Revelation. St. John looked into "heaven," as we are expressly told, and he saw there, *before the resurrection*, human souls, viz. "The four and twenty elders," who were undoubtedly men, for they sang a song before God in which they said that they had "been redeemed by the Blood of the Lamb." To these were added the innumerable company of the angels, and then also—"Every creature that is in heaven" (*i.e.* the saints, the Church triumphant) "and every creature under the earth" (*i.e.* the Church expectant) "and every creature that is upon the earth and upon the sea" (*i.e.* the Church militant here in earth) (Apoc. v. 13). This is, then, a description of the inhabitants of heaven before the Last

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Lapide and Estius, *in loc.*

Judgment, and while there were still earth and sea and a region "under the earth" inhabited by human souls—and at this time, *before* the Judgment, St. John found human souls in heaven. The same division of "all Christ's whole Church" into three parts, viz. Church militant, expectant, and triumphant with Christ in heaven, is also set forth in the third verse of the same chapter (Apoc. v. 3) and in the tenth verse of the second chapter of the Philippians, where indeed in the English version the force is weakened by the interpolation of the word "things." The text should read, "In the name of Jesus every knee shall bow (*i.e.* shall make supplication) of those in heaven and those on earth and those under the earth." I cannot refrain from quoting here Alford's admirable note: "And every creature . . . which is in the heaven (the chorus being *universal* this will include the angels and the GLORIFIED SAINTS) and on the earth, and under the earth (not the devils . . . but, as in Phil. ii. 10, the *departed spirits* in Hades), etc."<sup>1</sup> From these texts, then, we learn an additional fact: not only are there souls of the faithful dead now reigning with Christ in heaven, but there are also other souls, who are blessed and saved, who join in the triumph song of the redeemed giving glory to God, but who as yet are not admitted to the presence of God in heaven, but are "under the earth"—that is to say, it is not only revealed in the Holy Scriptures that there is a

<sup>1</sup> Alford, *in* Apoc. v. 13.

congregation of faithful souls triumphing with Christ in heaven, but also that there is likewise another congregation "expectant" of that bliss.

The third text gives us still a further piece of information. St. Paul is contrasting, in the thirteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians, the condition of the soul "now," while weighed down by the infirmity of the flesh, and "then," when freed from the body, he says, "we are confident and willing rather to be *absent from the body* and to be present with the Lord" (2 Cor. v. 8). He explains that now we see by a glass in an enigma; our present vision of God and of all things is dim, the outline is not clearly defined; but, he says, this is only because of our present condition. It will not be so always. For when we have been freed from our earthly prisons we shall see God "face to face," and we "shall know even as also we are known." Whatever limitations we may place to the meaning of these last words, whether we affirm that they teach we shall know God then as he knows us now, *i.e.* perfectly; or whether we extend the meaning (as St. Augustine does in "The City of God," bk. xxii. ch. 29) so as to include with the knowledge of God such knowledge of all things (and notably of what is going on in the Church on earth) as he is pleased to reveal in himself; whichever of these interpretations we may choose, one thing is certain, that the souls of the faithful "then" see God face to face, *i.e.* are in heaven and enjoy the Beatific Vision.

Before leaving this text I may perhaps be allowed to point out how the truth of St. Augustine's exposition is confirmed by St. Paul, who tells us that the Fathers of the old dispensation were kept in Limbus (Abraham's bosom, Hades, etc.), until Christ should come, and that they "received not the promise" (*i.e.* of the Beatific Vision), "God having provided some better thing for us [than Limbus, viz. Heaven], that they without us should not be made perfect" (Heb. xi. 39). But Christ is come, "and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God" (Heb. xii. 2), the saints of the elder dispensation have been perfected, for he has led captivity captive, and delivered the prisoners of hope out of the prison-house; they waited for us, but the time of their waiting is accomplished, and now "we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of *witnesses*." They know as they were known, they "witness" the struggles of the Church upon earth, and when our course is done, we "come to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and Church of the firstborn, and to God, . . . and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus" (Heb. xii. 22, 23).

It is sometimes objected that St. Peter in his great sermon on the day of Pentecost expressly declares that David was not yet in heaven, for it is written (Acts ii. 34), "David is not ascended into the heavens." To this it would be sufficient to answer that for David to ascend into heaven is one thing, for his soul to be

there is quite another. But this is not my answer, but I would refer my readers to the Greek, where he will find that what St. Peter said was that David at the time of writing the words, "The Lord said unto my Lord," was not in heaven, and therefore the words could not apply to him.

For those, then, to whom a demonstration from Holy Scripture is final, the matter seems to me to be (as St. Gregory says) "clearer than daylight," that the saints are reigning with Christ in Heaven, and have the joy and the knowledge that comes from the Beatific Vision. All this is accurately as well as exquisitely stated by the late Bishop Wordsworth, of Lincoln, in his hymn "Hark the sound of holy voices :"—

" *Now* they reign in heavenly glory,  
    *Now* they walk in golden light,  
    *Now* they drink, as from a river,  
    Holy bliss and infinite ;  
    Love and peace they taste for ever,  
    And *all truth and knowledge see*  
    In the Beatific Vision  
    Of the Blessed Trinity."

We come next to the second part of our examination, viz. the witness of antiquity. Several efforts have been made to show that the earlier Fathers held the view advanced by some among us to-day, viz. that no souls enjoy the bliss of heaven until after the Last Judgment, but that the just are detained until the resurrection in a place called "Paradise,"

which is different from heaven and inferior to it.<sup>1</sup>

Now, as a matter of fact, the following is the case :—

1. No one Father of the Church can be found who, speaking of the place where Christ now reigns in glory, does not use indiscriminately “Paradise” or “Heaven” as the name of that place; and the idea of “Paradise” being a place where imperfect souls are now cleansed and fitted for heaven not only is unknown, but is alien to the mind of every extant writer of antiquity.

2. No one Father can be found who denies the particular judgment.

3. No one Father affirms that between perfect and imperfect souls there is identity of condition except in the fact that both are disembodied.

4. No one Father can be quoted who denies Beatitude to the Saints before the day of judgment, unless possibly it be Irenæus.

But if it be asked, “What do the Primitive Fathers say?” we can only answer that, while evidently they

<sup>1</sup> In support of this opinion the most able book in English is probably that by Archibald Cambell, *Some Primitive Doctrines Revived, or the Intermediate or Middle State of Departed Souls, etc.* In this book is given a catena of the Fathers, whom he supposes are favourable to his opinion, but which, if read with their context, will be found to tell in exactly the opposite direction. These same passages are those relied upon for the most part by more recent writers who have espoused the same cause.

had not so clear a theological grasp of the matter as the later writers, yet that there is no contradiction between us and them on the main issues. All agree that there are souls of the glorified saints in the heavenly places; that there are besides them souls that will eventually be saved but only "so as by fire" and after much prayer offered by the Church on their behalf. These imperfect souls of the righteous the Greek Fathers (as the Eastern Church does still to-day) sometimes speak of as being "in hell," but in the West this border region of the place of torment was usually considered as a distinct place, and latterly called "Purgatory." One or two quotations to be added to that already given from St. Gregory may not be unacceptable to the reader. When all are one way it is difficult to know which to select.

St. Gregory of Nyssa says: "In the heavenly tabernacles where are the orders of angels, the choirs of the patriarchs . . . offering oblations to the . . . All-holy Trinity," etc.<sup>1</sup>

St. Gregory Nazianzen: "And now he is in heaven, and there offering sacrifice for us."<sup>2</sup>

"To thee now are present the heavenly order, the vision of glory," etc., etc.<sup>3</sup>

St. Augustine declares that the saints are able "to see the very substance of God," etc., and answers the

<sup>1</sup> *Orat. in S. Eph.*, v. fin. t. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Orat. 43 in Basil*, ad fin. (20, O.S.).

<sup>3</sup> *Orat. 8 in Gorgon*, ad fin. (11, O.S.).

objection that, if such is the case, there is no need of a resurrection.<sup>1</sup>

St. Basil, "In Ps. xv.," identifies Paradise and Heaven, and so, too, does St. Ambrose, in "De Bono Mortis," cap. xii.

Out of all the writers of antiquity there are but four to be set on the other side: Tertullian, the heretic; Victorinus Martyr, who (St. Jerome tells us in his "Epistola ad Magnum") was devoid of learning, although ready to be taught; Irenæus, who thought the souls of the saved were in the Garden of Eden until the resurrection (!); and Lactantius, of whom our own Bishop Bull so admirably says: "He was a rhetorician, not a theologian, and never at any time had a place among the doctors of the Church. . . . He was very little acquainted with the Holy Scriptures and the doctrine of the Church. In consequence, he fell into the most serious and absurd errors."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De. Gen. ad Litt.* xii. 34, § 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Def. of Nicene Creed*, ii. 14, 4, and iii. 10, 20.

The following is a list of some of the Fathers who seem to affirm the beatitude of the saints in heaven: Ignatius, Dionysius the Areopagite, Justin M., Athanasius, Basil, Greg. Naz., Greg. Nyssen, Chrysostom, Cyril of Jer., Cyril Alexandrinus, Epiphanius, Theodoret, Eusebius, John Damascene, Theophylact, Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, Prudentius, Jerome, Augustine, Leo M., Fulgentius, Gregory M., Anselm, and Bernard. This list is taken from Bellarmine, to whom the reader is referred, with a warning that he must not expect to find the Fathers on this point (more than on any other) quite consistent with them-

Before proceeding to the last division of my subject, it may be well to stop and state the theological doctrine which has found acceptance in the West, at least from the time of St. Augustine, and this cannot be done more clearly than by quoting St. Thomas in the "Summa :"<sup>1</sup> "As in bodies there is weight and lightness, by which they are carried to the place which is the end of their motion, so, too, there is in souls merit or demerit, by which they come to the end of their actions; that is to say, either to reward or punishment. Now, as a body through gravity or lightness immediately is borne to its place, unless it be hindered, so souls loosed from the burden of the flesh by which they are detained in this life, immediately attain their reward or their punishment, unless they be hindered by something; as, for example, venial sin yet needing cleansing hinders the obtaining of reward. And since a place of reward and a place of punishment has been provided for souls, as soon as the soul is loosed from

oneselves; and further, that often Bellarmine's attempts at reconciling apparently contradictory passages remind one of the attempts to reconcile Stephen's speech with Genesis. The reader of the Fathers must always remember that the Greeks denied that the Essence of God could ever, after as well as before the resurrection, be seen (*i.e.* comprehended) by the creature, whether angel or man—a doctrine equally strongly held by the Latin Fathers, but not expressed in the same language (*vid.* St. Thomas). Forgetfulness of this point has caused many blunders among recent writers.

<sup>1</sup> *III. sup. q. lxx., art. ii., from In Sent. iv., dist. 45, q. i.*

the body it is either plunged into hell, or else it immediately flies to heaven, unless it is impeded by some stain by which its flight is hindered, so that the soul first needs cleansing. And to this truth plainly the authority of the Canonical Scriptures bears witness, as do also the writings of the holy Fathers. Wherefore the denial of this is to be held as heresy, as is evident from 4 'Dial. Greg.,' cap. 25 and 28, and in 'Eccles. Dog.,' cap. 88." But while St. Thomas plainly teaches that the souls of the perfect are in heaven, yet he teaches that after the resurrection there will be an increment of their glory, owing to the restoration of the body then glorified. He says: "It is written in Rev. vi., 'I saw under the altar the souls of those that were slain,' etc., and the ordinary gloss says: 'The souls of the saints are now existing under the altar, that is, in less dignity than they will enjoy.' Therefore their beatitude after the resurrection will be greater than after death."<sup>1</sup>

Such, then, is the theological statement of the matter. The souls of the glorified saints are in the presence of God in heaven, and praise him day and night in his temple, but they do not attain their "perfect consummation and bliss both in body and soul" until after the resurrection. To deny this has been deemed heresy, and this so strongly, that when Pope John XXII. preached on All Saints' Day, 1331, a sermon in which he said that the saints would not

<sup>1</sup> *Summa Pars.*, iii., sup. q. xciii., art. 1.

enjoy the Beatific Vision of the Holy Trinity until after the last judgment, he was condemned, and told that unless he retracted he would be deposed from the Papal throne as a heretic ! Philip of Valois assembled the greatest theologians of his time to consider the point, and they wrote as follows : “ We are all agreed that since the death of Jesus Christ all the souls of the holy Fathers which he delivered from Limbus when he descended into hell, as well as those of the other faithful who have departed this life with no need of cleansing, as also those who have passed through the purification of purgatory, are elevated to the clear and full vision of the Divine Substance, and of the Holy Trinity, which St. Paul calls ‘ face to face,’ and enjoy perfectly the Divinity ; and that this vision which they now have shall not cease after the resurrection to give place to another, but shall remain the same eternally.” The words of the Pope’s recantation are as follows : “ We confess and believe that the souls, separated from the body and purified, are in heaven, in Paradise with Jesus Christ, and in company with the angels, and that they see God and the Divine Essence clearly face to face, so far as the disembodied state allows. And if we have preached, said, or written aught to the contrary, we expressly revoke it.”<sup>1</sup>

This being premised, we may well pass to our last consideration, which is this—What answer do the

<sup>1</sup> Fleury, l. xciv., § xxi., etc.

Christian Church, and bodies of professing Christians to-day, make to the question, "Where are the souls of the saints until the resurrection?" The answer I shall give in a few quotations.

The Roman Church answers: "The saints are in heaven." "The Church consists principally of two parts, the one called the Church triumphant, and the other the Church militant. The Church triumphant is the most glorious and happy assemblage of blessed spirits, and of those who have triumphed over the world, the flesh, and the devil, and who now, free and secure from the troubles of this life, enjoy everlasting bliss. . . . We are not to infer that there are two Churches, but there are . . . two constituent parts of the same Church, one part of which has gone before, and is now in the possession of its heavenly country."<sup>1</sup>

The Greek Church answers: "In heaven." "What place is specially destined for the souls of those who die in the grace of God? . . . The souls are in the grace of God, and in the heavenly kingdom, and in heaven (as the hymns of the Church express it)."<sup>2</sup> "The souls of the just, immediately after death and the particular judgment, go to heaven, and there are in the possession of felicity."<sup>3</sup>

For the English Church Bishop Pearson may speak

<sup>1</sup> *Cat. of Cl. of Trent*, ch. x. q. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Orthodox Confession*, q. lxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Macarius, *Théol. Dog. Orth.*, vol. ii. p. 697.

with as much if not more authority than any one author, and he answers: "In heaven." "The saints of God living in the Church of Christ are in communion with all the saints departed out of this life and admitted to the presence of God. This communion of the saints in heaven and earth," etc.<sup>1</sup>

And for Protestant Christendom hear the Westminster Confession: "The bodies of men after death return to dust and see corruption, but their souls immediately return to God who gave them. The souls of the righteous being then made perfect in holiness are received in the highest heavens where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies."<sup>2</sup>

Protestants and Catholics, Romans, Greeks, and Anglicans, all unite with Paul and John in affirming that God's saints are now reigning with Christ in heaven.

## II.

Having considered the state of the saints in glory, we now turn to those departed souls who are, in the scriptural phrase, "under the earth," that is, those souls who are still imperfect and not fit for heaven or the Beatific Vision.

On this matter there is some difference between

<sup>1</sup> *On the Creed*, Art. IX.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxxii.

the tradition of the East and West. It is true that the Greek Church does not admit a purgatory ; it is also true that she does not admit any third or intermediate state whatever. According to her teaching, all souls go either to heaven or hell, but many of the souls who are condemned at the particular judgment and sent to hell, may be and are liberated therefrom by the Masses, prayers, and alms of the living. So that at the last day, when they are judged again, they will be acquitted. The one point, then, in which the East and the West *do agree* is this—that the progress in the future life *will be painful* ; both Greeks and ultra-Latins teaching that the pain will be the same as that of hell (cf. Supplement to St. Thomas) ! The following is the Eastern doctrine, stated in the words of one of its great doctors, Macarius, Bishop of Vinnitza, and Rector of the Ecclesiastical Academy of St. Petersburg : “The Orthodox Church teaches, like the Church of Rome, (*a*) that the souls of certain of the dead, to wit, of those who die in faith and repentance but without having had the time to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, and, by consequence, to deserve of God a complete pardon of their sins, nor to purify themselves therefrom, endure torments until they are judged worthy of such pardon and truly purified ; (*b*) that in such an estate the souls of the dead derive profit from prayers said in their favour by their brethren in Christ who are still alive, from their

works of charity, and especially from the oblation of the unbloody sacrifice.”<sup>1</sup>

And further on he says—

“According to the teaching of the Orthodox Church, there is after death no class intermediate between those who are saved and go to heaven, and those who are condemned and go to hell. There is no intermediate place where those souls are which [only] repent before their death: all such souls go to hell, from whence they can only be delivered by prayer.”<sup>2</sup>

Such, then, is the doctrine of the Greek Church—a doctrine, apparently, widely different from that of any Church in the West.

We proceed now to define the doctrine of the Roman Church on this subject. And here we must be careful to distinguish between “the Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory,” which our Article condemns as a “fond thing,” and which the Council of Trent condemns as “uncertain or labouring under an appearance of error,” or as tending “to a certain kind of curiosity or superstition, or savouring of filthy lucre,” all of which corruptions of the doctrine concerning purgatory it declares to be “scandals and stumbling-blocks to the faithful;”—we must be careful to distinguish between this Mediæval “Doctrine concerning Purgatory,” condemned alike by England and Rome, and that doctrine which is *taught* by Rome,

<sup>1</sup> Tom. ii. § 259, 3°. ii., Imo.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. i.

and which has always been *held* by many in England, viz.—

“There is a purgatory, and the souls there detained are relieved by the prayers of the faithful, but chiefly by the acceptable sacrifice of the Altar.”<sup>1</sup>

This is absolutely all that Rome *teaches* on this subject. Many private doctors have taught much more, as many private doctors among ourselves teach many things untaught by the Church; but this is all the Church of Rome teaches as of faith, and she “enjoins on Bishops that they diligently strive that the sound doctrine concerning Purgatory, delivered by the Holy Fathers and Sacred Councils be believed, held, taught, and everywhere proclaimed by the faithful of Christ.”

We naturally next ask—What is the doctrine of the Church of England on this subject? If the Homily concerning Prayer in the Second Book is one of the doctrinal standards of the Church, and if the teaching of that homily is the dogma of the Church, then the matter is as clear as daylight:—

“The Scripture doth acknowledge but two places after this life, the one proper to the elect and blessed of God, the other to the reprobate and damned souls.”

And again—

“As the Scripture teacheth us, let us think that the soul of man passing out of the body goeth straightway

<sup>1</sup> *Conc. Trid.*, sess. 25.

either to heaven or else to hell, whereof the one needeth no prayer, and the other is without redemption."

And again—

"Let us not therefore dream either of purgatory or of prayer for the souls of them that be dead."

Such is the doctrine of the Book of Homilies; but is this the teaching of the Church? I have already proved that such is not necessarily the case, and it would seem that the greater part of this homily (as also of several others of the homilies) is erroneous and subversive of the truth; for while, indeed, we may generally give our assent to the proposition that the Two Books of Homilies are "instructive in piety and morals," and that they are "an explication of Christian doctrine," we may also hold that in some points they are a very bad "explication," and so far from being the teaching of the Church, that they are in these particulars only the teaching of the men who wrote them, and that in such a case as the one before us we must examine the argument of the homily, and see whether it be valid. Now, the author tells us that Scripture says thus and so, and from the Scripture St. Augustine, "a doctor of great authority and also antiquity," teaches thus and so, and with him agree both Chrysostom and St. Cyprian—and having cited these authorities, the author concludes—

"Let these and such other places be sufficient to take away the grave error of purgatory out of our

heads ; neither let us dream any more that the souls of the dead are anything at all helped by our prayers."

He arrived at this conclusion from Scripture because Chrysostom, Cyprian, and Augustine said so. His method of reasoning is sound and Churchly, only in the matter of fact he erred—the men he quoted taught the doctrine he thought they condemned ; *ergo*, the premises being reversed, the conclusion is reversed. Let us hear, then, what these Fathers really do say.

St. Chrysostom says—

"Oblations are not made in vain for the dead, nor are prayers said for them in vain, nor in vain are alms offered for them ; all these things the Spirit has commanded, wishing us to be aided one by the other."<sup>1</sup>

And again—

"Not idly were these things enacted by the Apostles, that in the dread mysteries there is mention made of the dead ; they know that great benefit comes to them, yea, great gain. For when the whole congregation and the sacerdotal body stand there, all lifting up their hands, and the dread Sacrifice is laid out, how shall we fail to prevail with God in supplicating for them ?"<sup>2</sup>

St. Cyprian is equally explicit. Geminius Victor had died, and, contrary to the sacred canons, he had appointed a priest as his executor ; St. Cyprian, hearing of this, writes to forbid prayers or Masses to be said for him.

<sup>1</sup> *Hom. on Acts ix.*

<sup>2</sup> *Hom. in Phil. iii.*

“The bishops, my predecessors, taking all things into devout consideration, and with skill providing all things, have thought good that no one dying should appoint a clergyman for his executor, and that, if he should do so, no offering should be made for him, nor should the Sacrifice be celebrated for the repose of his soul. For he who has attempted to take the priests and ministers from the service of the Altar does not deserve to be named at the Altar of God in the prayers of the priests. And, therefore, since Victor has dared to appoint a priest his executor, do not allow any Mass to be offered for the rest of his soul, nor any prayer in his name to be made in the Church.”<sup>1</sup>

We now come to St. Augustine, the doctor “of great authority and antiquity.” Amid a multitude of passages we choose the following :—

“There can be no doubt that the dead are helped by the prayers of Holy Church, by the life-giving Sacrifice, and by the alms which are offered for them ; to such an extent that they are more leniently treated by the Lord than their own sins have deserved. For the whole Church observes this as a tradition from the Fathers, that prayer should be offered for those who have died in the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ at their commemoration in the Holy Sacrifice, and also that it should be offered for their intention.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cypr. Ep.*, lxvi., *Ad Clerum et Pleb. Furnitan.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sermon* clxxii.

Such, then, is the real teaching of Chrysostom, Cyprian, and Augustine, concerning which the author of the "Homily concerning Prayer" was in error, and from which error he fell into grievously untrue conclusions. It may be well to note that Chrysostom died in A.D. 407, Cyprian in A.D. 258, and Augustine in A.D. 430. The homily, therefore, I have showed is erroneous in condemning as contrary to Holy Scripture that which the Church Universal has always done, and in attributing to three great saints opinions which they most flatly contradict in their undoubtedly genuine writings. It is subversive of the truth in inculcating a breach of charity by forbidding prayer for the vast majority of men, when we are ordered out of Christian love to pray for *all* men, and since the Church has never restricted this general direction to the few who happen at any given time to be on earth in the body.

The doctrine of this homily, then, being proved not to be the doctrine of the Latin or Greek Church to-day, nor of the Church of the early ages, cannot be true, and hence cannot be the doctrine of the Church of England. This being the case, we find that we are left to ourselves to gather what we can on the subject; and indeed any student of antiquity knows that, dissimilar as are the views of the Fathers on many subjects, on one thing they all agree, both Latin and Greek, both early and late, viz. that the dead are to be prayed for, and that alms and the

Holy Eucharist are to be offered for their souls. On this point, there being a consensus of the Fathers, and the universal and unbroken custom of the Church, I conclude that this is part of the dogmatic teaching of the Church, but on other points on which there is no such consensus, and concerning which no rulings have been made by the general councils, I presume the dutiful children of the Church are free to entertain such views as they please. In other words, I conclude that the positive teaching of this Church is that disembodied souls not yet perfected, but departed this life with true repentance, are helped by the prayers, alms, and sacrifices of the living. As for the name by which the place of their abode is to be called, or its location or its nature, nothing is defined ; but of its existence many thinkers are convinced even among Protestants. I select from a vast number, as representative examples, Dean Farrar and the Lutheran divine, Dr. Martensen. The former, in "Mercy and Judgment," says—

"The ancient Fathers are nearly as unanimous in recognizing an intermediate state, as popular teaching is unanimous in speaking of 'dying and going straight to heaven or to hell.' Justin Martyr says that persons who used such language were not to be considered Christians or even Jews. Tertullian, Lactantius, Origen, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, are all perfectly explicit on this point, and to our own Reformers it seemed so clear that the entrance on the state of

æonian joy or sorrow was not decided till the resurrection, that in the fortieth Article of 1552 they imply their belief in the intermediate state by their express condemnation of the fancy of psychopannychia or the inanition of the soul between death and judgment.”<sup>1</sup>

The Lutheran bishop speaks in the like manner :—

“Since no soul leaves this state of being in a fully concluded and finished condition, the middle state must be considered as a realm of continued development wherein souls may be prepared and ripened for the last judgment. Although the Catholic doctrine of purgatory is rejected because it is mixed up with so much that is harsh and false, it contains nevertheless the truth that the intermediate state, in a purely spiritual sense, *must be a purgatory* determined for the purifying of the soul.”<sup>2</sup>

The well-known text in 2 Macc. is often quoted as the only “Scriptural proof” (so-called) of prayers for the dead. The passage reads as follows : “To pray for the dead . . . was an holy and good thought. Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin” (2 Macc. xii. 44, 45). Against this Protestants urge that it is no part of the Holy Scripture at all, and they reject its authority accordingly. But we must remember that even if we could prove that God ordered the Jews

<sup>1</sup> *Mercy and Judgment*, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Translated in Luckock, *After Death*, p. 126.

to pray for their dead, it would be no proof whatever that we Christians should do so, for the state of the dead before the coming of Christ might have been such as to have required prayer, and their state since his coming might not, and therefore though one of the ten commandments had been "Remember that thou be diligent to offer sacrifice and to pray for the dead," it might have had no more force to us Christians than the command that every male should be circumcised. The only interest whatever attaching to this matter is the showing that the Jews *did* pray for the dead before the time of Christ, and this historical fact surely needs no proof.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following from the Prayer-book of the Jews may interest the reader :—

"May the repose established in the heavenly dwelling-place, under the wings of the Divine Presence in the holy and pure height that shine and are glorious in the brightness of the firmament, together with the renewal of strength, the purging of transgressions, the entrance to salvation, compassion and favour from him that sitteth on the throne on high, and a goodly portion in the life to come, be the lot, dwelling-place, and rest of the soul of our deceased brother N (whom may the Spirit of the Lord lead into Paradise), who departed from this world according to the will of God, the Lord of heaven and earth. May the Supreme King of Kings of his infinite mercy grant unto him mercy, pity, and compassion. May the Supreme King of Kings of his infinite mercy guide him under the covering of his wings and in the secret place of his tabernacle ; that he may behold the fair beauty of the Lord and may visit his Temple. May he raise him up again at the Last Day, and cause him to drink of the River of Pleasure. May he cause his

Let us then look at the broad question. The New Testament says, "Pray for *all* men;" the Christian Church from the earliest ages has understood this as including the dead, and her practice has been consistent with this understanding. Is there anything in Holy Scripture to lead us to suppose that "all" means only the living at a given time? The burden of proof must rest upon the gainsayer—we need not prove that "all" means "all;" it is plainly the place of the opposer to prove that "all" does not mean "all." And until this has been done, humble Christians will continue to think that the Divine Scriptures teach prayers for the dead, especially as St. Paul knew that such was the custom of the Jews, and would be sure to continue with them when converted unless it was stopped. Take the parallel case—we say; the Lord said, "Drink ye *all* of this," from which we conclude that women as well as men were intended to receive the Holy Communion. And the Church, considering that "all" means "all," has ever given the Holy Sacrament to women as well as men.

soul to be bound up in the bond of life and his rest to be glorious. May the Lord be his inheritance and grant him peace. May he rest in peace, as it is written, 'He shall enter into peace; they shall rest in their beds, each one walking in his uprightness.' May he and all the people of Israel who lie in the dust, find a place of mercy and joyfulness. May this be the will of God, and let us say Amen." (This translation is taken with slight revision from *The Form of Prayers according to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*. Philadelphia, 5638.)

Suppose, now, some one says, "Not one explicit sentence can be quoted out of the Bible in its favour;" we answer, Well, what difference does that make? What is there, is explicit enough for us—so much so that, although there is not a word about women receiving the Sacrament, we believe and teach that that Sacrament is "generally necessary for salvation"—as well for women as for men. The Scripture says, "Drink ye all." The early Christians believed "all" meant "all." To them and to us the Scripture proof is complete. So, too, with regard to prayers for the dead. The Scriptures say, "Pray for all men." The Jews prayed for all men, the early Christians prayed for all men, the whole Catholic Church has always prayed for all men,—and to us the Scripture proof is absolutely conclusive. Prove to us that Holy Scripture, as interpreted by the Church, forbids giving the Communion to women, and we will cease to do so; prove to us that Holy Scripture, as interpreted by the Church, forbids prayer for the dead, and we will cease to pray for them.

I should not pass over what is a most important mass of evidence upon this subject, and one which increases year by year. I refer to the inscriptions in the Catacombs. Among these, prayers for the repose of the faithful dead are very common, and all but universal in the earlier epitaphs, but grow more and more rare as time goes on. To quote from

De Rossi, the authority on the subject, would occupy too much space; but perhaps a quotation from a more accessible book, "Roma Sotteranea," by Northcote and Brownlow, may serve the purpose:—

"If we turn to De Rossi's volume of dated inscriptions, we have seen that the same facts appear there also. Among the first thirty we have the 'fish and the anchor,' in the year 234; 'Mayest thou live among the saints,' in 268; 'In pace,' A.D. 290; and prayers 'that the departed may be refreshed with the holy souls,' A.D. 291; or that 'he may live in God,' A.D. 307.

"And it is important that we should bear in mind (what has been already stated on De Rossi's irrefragable authority) that *hardly* one of these Christian *formulae* (except 'In pace') is to be found in the far more numerous inscriptions bearing later dates. All the tokens of the new religion fall within the compass of less than a hundred years before the accession of Constantine, during which period we have barely thirty inscriptions altogether; but whereas the next two centuries and a half (down to A.D. 590) give nearly 1500 such inscriptions, yet *not a single* specimen occurs of the same simple, earnest, affectionate prayer for the departed as we have found during the first three centuries."<sup>1</sup>

I proceed now to give a few samples of these early epitaphs:—

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. p. 75.

“Aurelius Allianus of Paphlagonia, a faithful servant of God, sleeps in peace. May God remember him for ever.”

“Demetrius and Leontia to their well-deserving daughter, Sirica. Lord Jesus, remember our child.”

“O Lord, let not the spirit of Venera be in darkness.”

“Refresh, O God, the soul of ——.”

“To my sweetest wife. . . . She has deserved that an epitaph should be inscribed to her, to the end that whosoever of the brethren shall read it may ask God that her holy and innocent spirit may be received of God.”

Such, then, are the epitaphs of the first three hundred years after the death of our Lord. But suppose they had not been so, what would have followed? Would it have proved anything against the practice of prayers for the dead? Clearly not. For we know that Tertullian, as early as A.D. 204, says: “We make oblations for the departed on one day in the year;” and moreover that every one of the Ancient Liturgies explicitly prays for the repose of the faithful dead, *e.g.* the Clementine has the following suffrage: “For those who have gone to rest in faith, let us pray.”

As there is no fact that can be more certainly proved, so there is no fact that has been more universally recognized both by friend and foe than this, that from the earliest times the Christian Church has prayed for the dead. Even Burnet says, in

speaking of "the practice of praying for the dead:"—" . . . of which we find such full evidence in Tertullian and St. Cyprian's writings, that the matter of fact is not to be denied. This appears also in all the ancient liturgies; and Epiphanius charges Aërius with this of rejecting all prayers for the dead, asking, Why were they prayed for? The opinions that they fell into concerning the state of departed souls in the interval between their death and the day of judgment gave occasion enough for prayer; they thought they were capable of making a progress and of having an early resurrection."<sup>1</sup>

But we are often told that "all petitions for the dead have been pruned away from the English ritual," and we are informed that this is "decisive." We write feeling deeply that what we say will be a surprise to many people, but we cannot see any reason why the practice of the Church of England for the last three hundred years should be decisive of anything. We certainly are not prepared to claim for that wondrous period, the sixteenth century, a new descent of the Holy Spirit and the beginning of a new tradition. And if we make no such claim for it, why should we suppose the results of its deliberations on this or any other subject should be more "decisive" than the results of the deliberations of the present age? And surely, if we are asked to consider the *primâ facie*, there is more reason in restoring to the smallest

<sup>1</sup> *An Exposition of the XXXIX Articles*, Art. XXII.

branch of Christ's Church a practice which is still used by all the rest, and which was used by her till three centuries ago, than in persevering in the peculiar vagaries of a period of upheaval in a small part of the Church. People talk of the traditional teaching of the Roman Church. I know what that means, and no doubt it is of great value; also the traditional teaching of the Eastern Churches, both orthodox and heretical, is of great weight, because in these Churches there has been no break. It may be partly corrupt; at least, however, the tradition is continuous. But I do not know what the traditional teaching of Anglicanism is. If that teaching agrees with the teaching of the rest of the Western Church, then it is probably right, but if it differs from this, and is only the tradition of the peculiar tenets of some upheavalists of three hundred years ago, it cannot be of any real value to any one. What possible conclusion can follow from the consensus of Anglican writers *since* the Reformation? All it can prove is that a certain doctrine has found very general acceptance for that length of time in the Anglican Church, but it proves absolutely nothing as to the truth of that doctrine. We freely admit that the dead are not very explicitly prayed for in our present Prayer-book; but the only thing of which this is decisive is that our present Prayer-book has in this point departed from the use of the Church. And while we are not called upon to condemn the men who were responsible for this departure from

Christian usage, we must be most clear in declaring that the tradition of three hundred years of Anglicanism cannot outweigh the voice of eighteen centuries of God's Church. If the Prayer-book were the historic Office-book of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, then the omission of more explicit prayers for the dead would be, not indeed "decisive" of anything, but very significant. The Prayer-book, however, is nothing of the sort. It is the old Office-book cut and sliced and tampered with so as not to offend the peculiar theological views of restless and innovating spirits in the Church, and of still more restless spirits without her pale. Under these circumstances, how can the Prayer-book be supposed to be a dogmatic definition of all that must or may be believed or practised with the approval of the Church? In fact, the wonder is, not that certain ancient doctrines and practices which had been abused and against which therefore there was much prejudice, such as prayer for the dead, and the invocation of saints and angels, were omitted or unduly obscured, but that nearly every dogma and practice of Catholic antiquity has been explicitly retained. The Prayer-book is not, nor does it claim to be, nor has it ever been seriously asserted that it was intended to be, the *regula fidei* of the Church, so that what is not read therein cannot or ought not to be believed or practised by faithful Churchmen. Far from it. The Prayer-book is the expression of the least one can believe and do and yet be considered

within the pale of the Church. Provided a man is willing to ask God "to have mercy upon all men," to beg him "not to remember the offences of our forefathers," to ask that "we with them (*i.e.* the faithful dead) may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom," and to pray God that "all his whole Church may obtain remission of their sins, and all other benefits of his Passion,"—provided he is willing to say all these prayers, the Church leaves him at liberty to believe what he pleases concerning their efficacy, or the limitations of their extent. If, then, our Prayer-book to-day had no prayers for the dead at all in it (a proposition we will never grant the truth of), yet it would not be in the slightest degree conclusive that prayer for the dead was not the teaching of the Church of old, and an approved practice of the Church to-day. All that would follow would be that the Church deemed, at the time of the Reformation, that the danger of falling back into the old errors on the subject was greater than the advantage of having more explicit prayers, and that therefore, for the time being, such prayers were omitted, and have not since been restored.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are some who seem to think that the Anglican Churches are in heresy because they do not lay greater stress upon the doctrine of prayers for the dead; for such the following quotation from a sermon by the famous Archbishop Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow, will be instructive:—

"The all-seeing wisdom of God does not in Holy Scriptures proclaim very loud the command to pray for the dead, perhaps

We have found, then, that both East and West agree that prayers, alms, and sacrifice are to be offered for the repose of the dead; that such a doctrine and the practices following therefrom have been in the Church from the very earliest days; that such was the doctrine of the Jews before the time of our Lord and has continued to be so since, that traces of it are evident in Holy Scripture, and that since we are therein bidden to pray "for all men," prayer for the dead will continue to be a duty taught in the Written Word, until it can be shown that "all" does not mean "all," but only the few living. We have seen that prayers for the dead are frequent among the early epitaphs of the Catacombs, and lastly we have shown that the faltering speech of our present Office-book upon the subject cannot be justly interpreted as being a condemnation of the practice by the Church. From all which it follows that to pray for the souls of the faithful dead is a duty laid upon all Christian people, a duty taught by the holy apostles, and the words of

lest the living, relying upon the succour, should relax their efforts to work out their own salvation before the death of the body. But as such prayers are not forbidden, does not this signify that it permits, etc.?

"And perhaps this is the reason why prayer for the dead has existed from antiquity and still prevails in the Church, not as a part solemnly proclaimed and essential to the faith and as severely prescribed, but as a tradition and pious custom, always continued by the free obedience of the faith and by frequent spiritual experiences" (Philarète, *Choix de Sermons et Discours*, tom. ii. pp. 29, 30. Paris, 1866).

Holy Scripture as interpreted by the uniform practice of the Church from the beginning, evinced by the epitaphs of the Catacombs and by the writings of the Fathers; and that, in view of these things, it must be a dogma and practice of the Church of England, the particular part of the Church to which we belong, the boast of which is that she still holds all that is primitive and apostolic both in faith and practice.

Such, then, is in brief what I believe to be substantially the teaching of tradition and of the Fathers upon the subject of eschatology. In many particulars the matter is one of great difficulty, and the Fathers are not always as clear as one could wish, but amid all these difficulties two things are clear by the practice of the whole Church time out of mind—the saints are to be invoked, and the rest of the faithful dead are to be prayed for.







January 1896.

# A Selection of Works IN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

PUBLISHED BY

MESSRS. LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

---

**Abbey and Overton.**—THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By CHARLES J. ABBEY, M.A., Rector of Checkendon, Reading, and JOHN H. OVERTON, D.D., Canon of Lincoln and Rector of Epworth. *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

**Adams.**—SACRED ALLEGORIES. The Shadow of the Cross—The Distant Hills—The Old Man's Home—The King's Messengers. By the Rev. WILLIAM ADAMS, M.A. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

The four Allegories may be had separately, with Illustrations.  
*16mo. 1s. each.*

**Aids to the Inner Life.**

Edited by the Rev. W. H. HUTCHINGS, M.A., Rector of Kirby Misperton, Yorkshire. *Five Vols. 32mo, cloth limp, 6d. each; or cloth extra, 1s. each.*

*With red borders, 2s. each. Sold separately.*

OF THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. By THOMAS À KEMPIS.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR.

THE DEVOUT LIFE. By ST. FRANCIS DE SALES.

THE HIDDEN LIFE OF THE SOUL.

THE SPIRITUAL COMBAT. By LAURENCE SCUPOLI.

**Barry.**—SOME LIGHTS OF SCIENCE ON THE FAITH.

Being the Bampton Lectures for 1892. By the Right Rev. ALFRED BARRY, D.D., Canon of Windsor, formerly Bishop of Sydney, Metropolitan of New South Wales, and Primate of Australia. *8vo. 12s. 6d.*

**Bathe.**—Works by the Rev. ANTHONY BATHE, M.A.

A LENT WITH JESUS. A Plain Guide for Churchmen. Containing Readings for Lent and Easter Week, and on the Holy Eucharist. *32mo, 1s.; or in paper cover, 6d.*

AN ADVENT WITH JESUS. *32mo, 1s.; or in paper cover, 6d.*

WHAT I SHOULD BELIEVE. A Simple Manual of Self-Instruction for Church People. *Small 8vo, limp, 1s.; cloth gilt, 2s.*

**Bathe and Buckham.**—THE CHRISTIAN'S ROAD BOOK :

Part I. DEVOTIONS. By the Rev. ANTHONY BATHE and Rev. F. H. BUCKHAM, *Fcap. 8vo. Sewed, 6d.; limp cloth, 1s.; cloth extra, 1s. 6d.*

**Benson.**—THE FINAL PASSOVER : A Series of Meditations upon the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ. By the Rev. R. M. BENSON, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford. *Small 8vo.*

Vol. I.—THE REJECTION. 5s.

Vol. II.—THE UPPER CHAMBER.

Part I. 5s.

Part II. 5s.

Vol. III.—THE DIVINE EXODUS.  
Parts I. and II. 5s. each.

Vol. IV.—THE LIFE BEYOND THE GRAVE. 5s.

**Bickersteth.**—YESTERDAY, TO-DAY, AND FOR EVER : a Poem in Twelve Books. By EDWARD HENRY BICKERSTETH, D.D., Bishop of Exeter. *One Shilling Edition, 18mo. With red borders, 16mo, 2s. 6d.*

*The Crown 8vo Edition (5s.) may still be had.*

**Blunt.**—Works by the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, D.D.

THE ANNOTATED BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER : Being an Historical, Ritual, and Theological Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England. 4to. 21s.

THE COMPENDIOUS EDITION OF THE ANNOTATED BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER : Forming a concise Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England. *Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.*

DICTIONARY OF DOCTRINAL AND HISTORICAL THEOLOGY. By various Writers. *Imperial 8vo. 21s.*

DICTIONARY OF SECTS, HERESIES, ECCLESIASTICAL PARTIES AND SCHOOLS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT. By various Writers. *Imperial 8vo. 21s.*

THE BOOK OF CHURCH LAW Being an Exposition of the Legal Rights and Duties of the Parochial Clergy and the Laity of the Church of England. Revised by Sir WALTER G. F. PHILLIMORE, Bart., D.C.L., and G. EDWARDES JONES, Barrister-at-Law. *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

A COMPANION TO THE BIBLE : Being a Plain Commentary on Scripture History, to the end of the Apostolic Age. *Two Vols. small 8vo. Sold separately.*

THE OLD TESTAMENT. 3s. 6d. THE NEW TESTAMENT. 3s. 6d.

HOUSEHOLD THEOLOGY : a Handbook of Religious Information respecting the Holy Bible, the Prayer Book, the Church, etc., etc. *Paper cover, 16mo. 1s. Also the Larger Edition, 3s. 6d.*

**Body.**—Works by the Rev. GEORGE BODY, D.D., Canon of Durham.

THE LIFE OF LOVE. A Course of Lent Lectures. 16mo. 2s. 6d.

THE SCHOOL OF CALVARY ; or, Laws of Christian Life revealed from the Cross. 16mo. 2s. 6d.

THE LIFE OF JUSTIFICATION. 16mo. 2s. 6d.

THE LIFE OF TEMPTATION. 16mo. 2s. 6d.

**Boulton.**—A COMMENTARY ON THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By the Rev. T. P. BOULTBEE, formerly Principal of the London College of Divinity, St. John's Hall, Highbury. *Crown 8vo.* 6s.

**Bright.**—Works by WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

WAYMARKS IN CHURCH HISTORY. *Crown 8vo.* 7s. 6d.

MORALITY IN DOCTRINE. *Crown 8vo.* 7s. 6d.

LESSONS FROM THE LIVES OF THREE GREAT FATHERS: St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustine. *Crown 8vo.* 6s.

THE INCARNATION AS A MOTIVE POWER. *Crown 8vo.* 6s.

THE ROMAN SEE IN THE EARLY CHURCH; and other Studies in Church History. *Crown 8vo.*

**Bright and Medd.**—LIBER PRECUM PUBLICARUM ECCLESIAE ANGLICANÆ. A GULIELMO BRIGHT, S.T.P., et PETRO GOLDSMITH MEDD, A.M., Latine redditus. *Small 8vo.* 7s. 6d.

**Browne.**—AN EXPOSITION OF THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES, Historical and Doctrinal. By E. H. BROWNE, D.D., formerly Bishop of Winchester. *8vo.* 16s.

**Campion and Beamont.**—THE PRAYER BOOK INTERLEAVED. With Historical Illustrations and Explanatory Notes arranged parallel to the Text. By W. M. CAMPION, D.D., and W. J. BEAMONT, M.A. *Small 8vo.* 7s. 6d.

**Carter.**—Works edited by the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A., Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

THE TREASURY OF DEVOTION: a Manual of Prayer for General and Daily Use. Compiled by a Priest.

*18mo.* 2s. 6d.; *cloth limp*, 2s.

Bound with the Book of Common Prayer, 3s. 6d.

Red-Line Edition. *Cloth extra, gilt top.* *18mo.* 2s. 6d. *net.*

Large-Type Edition. *Crown 8vo.* 3s. 6d.

THE WAY OF LIFE: A Book of Prayers and Instruction for the Young at School, with a Preparation for Confirmation. Compiled by a Priest, *18mo.* 1s. 6d.

THE PATH OF HOLINESS: a First Book of Prayers, with the Service of the Holy Communion, for the Young. Compiled by a Priest. With Illustrations. *16mo.* 1s. 6d.; *cloth limp*, 1s.

THE GUIDE TO HEAVEN: a Book of Prayers for every Want. (For the Working Classes.) Compiled by a Priest. *18mo.* 1s. 6d.; *cloth limp*, 1s. *Large-Type Edition.* *Crown 8vo.* 1s. 6d.; *cloth limp*, 1s.

[continued.]

**Carter.**—Works edited by the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A., Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford—*continued.*

SELF-RENUNCIATION. 16mo. 2s. 6d.

THE STAR OF CHILDHOOD: a First Book of Prayers and Instruction for Children. Compiled by a Priest. With Illustrations. 16mo. 2s. 6d.

NICHOLAS FERRAR: his Household and his Friends. With Portrait engraved after a Picture by CORNELIUS JANSSEN at Magdalene College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN KETTLEWELL. With Details of the History of the Non-Jurors. With Portrait. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Conybeare and Howson.**—THE LIFE AND EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL. By the Rev. W. J. CONYBEARE, M.A., and the Very Rev. J. S. HOWSON, D.D. With numerous Maps and Illustrations.

LIBRARY EDITION. Two Vols. 8vo. 21s.

STUDENTS' EDITION. One Vol. Crown 8vo. 6s.

POPULAR EDITION. One Vol. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**Creighton.**—PERSECUTION AND TOLERANCE: being the Hulsean Lectures preached before the University of Cambridge in 1893-4. By M. CREIGHTON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Peterborough. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

**Devotional Series, 16mo, Red Borders.** *Each 2s. 6d.*

BICKERSTETH'S YESTERDAY, TO-DAY, AND FOR EVER.

CHILCOT'S TREATISE ON EVIL THOUGHTS.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR.

FRANCIS DE SALES' (ST.) THE DEVOUT LIFE.

HERBERT'S POEMS AND PROVERBS.

KEMPIS' (A) OF THE IMITATION OF CHRIST.

WILSON'S THE LORD'S SUPPER. *Large type.*

\*TAYLOR'S (JEREMY) HOLY LIVING.

\*————— HOLY DYING.

*\* These two in one Volume. 5s.*

**Devotional Series, 18mo, without Red Borders.** *Each 1s.*

BICKERSTETH'S YESTERDAY, TO-DAY, AND FOR EVER.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR.

FRANCIS DE SALES' (ST.) THE DEVOUT LIFE.

HERBERT'S POEMS AND PROVERBS.

KEMPIS' (A) OF THE IMITATION OF CHRIST.

WILSON'S THE LORD'S SUPPER, *Large type.*

\*TAYLOR'S (JEREMY) HOLY LIVING.

\*————— HOLY DYING.

*\* These two in one Volume. 2s. 6d.*

**Diggle.**—RELIGIOUS DOUBT : its Nature, Treatment, Causes, Difficulties, Consequences, and Dissolution. By the Rev. JOHN W. DIGGLE, M.A., Vicar of Mossley Hill and Hon. Canon of Liverpool, Author of 'Bishop Fraser's Lancashire Life.' *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

**Edersheim.**—Works by ALFRED EDERSHEIM, M.A., D.D., Ph.D., sometime Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint, Oxford.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JESUS THE MESSIAH. *Two Vols. 8vo. 24s.*

JESUS THE MESSIAH : being an Abridged Edition of 'The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah.' *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

PROPHECY AND HISTORY IN RELATION TO THE MESSIAH : The Warburton Lectures, 1880-1884. *8vo. 12s.*

HISTORY OF THE JEWISH NATION AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM UNDER TITUS. Revised by the Rev. HENRY A. WHITE, M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford. With a Preface by the Rev. WILLIAM SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. *8vo. 18s.*

**Ellicott.**—Works by C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.

A CRITICAL AND GRAMMATICAL COMMENTARY ON ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES. Greek Text, with a Critical and Grammatical Commentary, and a Revised English Translation. *8vo.*

I CORINTHIANS. *16s.*

GALATIANS. *8s. 6d.*

EPHESIANS. *8s. 6d.*

PHILIPPIANS, COLOSSIANS, AND

PHILEMON. *10s. 6d.*

THESSALONIANS. *7s. 6d.*

PASTORAL EPISTLES. *10s. 6d.*

HISTORICAL LECTURES ON THE LIFE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST. *8vo. 12s.*

**Epochs of Church History.**—Edited by MANDELL CREIGHTON, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Peterborough. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. each.*

THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN OTHER LANDS. By the Rev. H. W. TUCKER, M.A.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. By the Rev. GEO. G. PERRY, M.A.

THE CHURCH OF THE EARLY FATHERS. By the Rev. ALFRED PLUMMER, D.D.

THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By the Rev. J. H. OVERTON, D.D.

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. By the Hon. G. C. BRODRICK, D.C.L.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE. By J. BASS MULLINGER, M.A.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By the Rev. W. HUNT, M.A.

THE CHURCH AND THE EASTERN EMPIRE. By the Rev. H. F. TOZER, M.A.

THE CHURCH AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By the Rev. A. CARR, M.A.

THE CHURCH AND THE PURITANS, 1570-1660. By HENRY OFFLEY WAKEMAN, M.A.

HILDEBRAND AND HIS TIMES. By the Rev. W. R. W. STEPHENS, M.A.

THE POPES AND THE HOHENSTAUFEN. By UGO BALZANI.

THE COUNTER REFORMATION. By ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD, Litt. D.

WYCLIFFE AND MOVEMENTS FOR REFORM. By REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A.

THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY. By H. M. GWATKIN, M.A.

**Fosbery.**—Works edited by the Rev. THOMAS VINCENT FOSBERY, M.A., sometime Vicar of St. Giles's, Reading.

VOICES OF COMFORT. *Cheap Edition. Small 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

*The Larger Edition (7s. 6d.) may still be had.*

HYMNS AND POEMS FOR THE SICK AND SUFFERING. In connection with the Service for the Visitation of the Sick. Selected from Various Authors. *Small 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

**Fremantle.**—THE WORLD AS THE SUBJECT OF REDEMPTION. Being an attempt to set forth the Functions of the Church as designed to embrace the whole Race of Mankind. (The Bampton Lectures, 1883.) By the Hon. and Rev. W. H. FREMANTLE, M.A., Dean of Ripon. New Edition, Revised, with New Preface. *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

**Gore.**—Works by the Rev. CHARLES GORE, M.A., Canon of Westminster.

THE MINISTRY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. *8vo. 10s. 6d.*

ROMAN CATHOLIC CLAIMS. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

**Goulburn.**—Works by EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., D.C.L., sometime Dean of Norwich.

THOUGHTS ON PERSONAL RELIGION. *Small 8vo. 6s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.; Presentation Edition, 2 vols. small 8vo, 10s. 6d.*

THE PURSUIT OF HOLINESS: a Sequel to 'Thoughts on Personal Religion.' *Small 8vo. 5s. Cheap Edition. 3s. 6d.*

THE GOSPEL OF THE CHILDHOOD: a Practical and Devotional Commentary on the Single Incident of our Blessed Lord's Childhood (St. Luke ii. 41 to the end). *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

THE COLLECTS OF THE DAY: an Exposition, Critical and Devotional, of the Collects appointed at the Communion. With Preliminary Essays on their Structure, Sources, etc. *2 vols. Crown 8vo. 8s. each.*

THOUGHTS UPON THE LITURGICAL GOSPELS for the Sundays, one for each day in the year. With an Introduction on their Origin, History, the modifications made in them by the Reformers and by the Revisers of the Prayer Book. *2 vols. Crown 8vo. 16s.*

MEDITATIONS UPON THE LITURGICAL GOSPELS for the Minor Festivals of Christ, the two first Week-days of the Easter and Whitsun Festivals, and the Red-letter Saints' Days. *Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.*

FAMILY PRAYERS, compiled from various sources (chiefly from Bishop Hamilton's Manual), and arranged on the Liturgical Principle. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. Cheap Edition. 16mo. 1s.*

**Harrison.**—Works by the Rev. ALEXANDER J. HARRISON, B.D.,  
Lecturer of the Christian Evidence Society.

PROBLEMS OF CHRISTIANITY AND SCEPTICISM. *Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO SCEPTICS: a Conversational  
Guide to Evidential Work. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE REPOSE OF FAITH, IN VIEW OF PRESENT DAY DIFFI-  
CULTIES. *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

**Heurtley.**—WHOLESOME WORDS: Sermons on some Im-  
portant points, of Christian Doctrine, preached before the University  
of Oxford by the Rev. C. A. HEURTLEY, D.D., late Margaret Professor  
of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Edited, with a  
Prefatory Memoir of the Author, by the Rev. W. INCE, D.D., Canon  
of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford. *Crown*  
*8vo. 5s.*

**Holland.**—Works by the Rev. HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, M.A.,  
Canon and Precentor of St. Paul's.

GOD'S CITY AND THE COMING OF THE KINGDOM: *Crown*  
*8vo. 7s. 6d.*

PLEAS AND CLAIMS FOR CHRIST. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

CREED AND CHARACTER: Sermons. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

ON BEHALF OF BELIEF. Sermons. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

CHRIST OR ECCLESIASTES. Sermons. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

LOGIC AND LIFE, with other Sermons. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

**Hutchings.**—SERMON SKETCHES taken from some of the  
Sunday Lessons throughout the Church's Year. By the Rev. W. H.  
HUTCHINGS, M.A., Canon of York. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

**Ingram.**—HAPPINESS IN THE SPIRITUAL LIFE; or,  
'The Secret of the Lord.' By the Rev. W. C. INGRAM, D.D., Dean  
of Peterborough. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

INHERITANCE OF THE SAINTS; or, Thoughts on the  
Communion of Saints and the Life of the World to come. Col-  
lected chiefly from English Writers by L. P. With a Preface by the  
Rev. HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, M.A. *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

**Jameson.**—Works by Mrs. JAMESON.

SACRED AND LEGENDARY ART, containing Legends of the Angels  
and Archangels, the Evangelists, the Apostles. With 19 Etchings and  
187 Woodcuts. 2 vols. *8vo. 20s. net.*

LEGENDS OF THE MONASTIC ORDERS, as represented in the  
Fine Arts. With 11 Etchings and 88 Woodcuts. *8vo. 10s. net.*

LEGENDS OF THE MADONNA, OR BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.  
With 27 Etchings and 165 Woodcuts. *8vo. 10s. net.*

THE HISTORY OF OUR LORD, as exemplified in Works of Art.  
Commenced by the late Mrs. JAMESON; continued and completed by  
LADY EASTLAKE. With 31 Etchings and 281 Woodcuts. 2 Vols.  
*8vo. 20s. net*

**Jennings.**—**ECCLESIA ANGLICANA.** A History of the Church of Christ in England from the Earliest to the Present Times. By the Rev. ARTHUR CHARLES JENNINGS, M.A. *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

**Jukes.**—Works by ANDREW JUKES.

THE NEW MAN AND THE ETERNAL LIFE. Notes on the Reiterated Amens of the Son of God. *Crown 8vo. 6s.*

THE NAMES OF GOD IN HOLY SCRIPTURE: a Revelation of His Nature and Relationships. *Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.*

THE TYPES OF GENESIS. *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

THE SECOND DEATH AND THE RESTITUTION OF ALL THINGS. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE MYSTERY OF THE KINGDOM. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

THE ORDER AND CONNEXION OF THE CHURCH'S TEACHING, as set forth in the arrangement of the Epistles and Gospels throughout the Year. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

**Knox Little.**—Works by W. J. KNOX LITTLE, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Worcester, and Vicar of Hoar Cross.

SACERDOTALISM, WHEN RIGHTLY UNDERSTOOD, THE TEACHING OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. *Crown 8vo. 6s.*

SKETCHES IN SUNSHINE AND STORM: a Collection of Miscellaneous Essays and Notes of Travel. *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

THE CHRISTIAN HOME. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE HOPES AND DECISIONS OF THE PASSION OF OUR MOST HOLY REDEEMER. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

CHARACTERISTICS AND MOTIVES OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. Ten Sermons preached in Manchester Cathedral, in Lent and Advent. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

SERMONS PREACHED FOR THE MOST PART IN MANCHESTER. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE MYSTERY OF THE PASSION OF OUR MOST HOLY REDEEMER. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

THE WITNESS OF THE PASSION OF OUR MOST HOLY REDEEMER. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

[continued.]

**Knox Little.**—Works by W. J. KNOX LITTLE, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Worcester, and Vicar of Hoar Cross.—*continued.*

THE LIGHT OF LIFE. Sermons preached on Various Occasions. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

SUNLIGHT AND SHADOW IN THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. Sermons preached for the most part in America. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

**Lear.**—Works by, and Edited by, H. L. SIDNEY LEAR.

FOR DAYS AND YEARS. A book containing a Text, Short Reading, and Hymn for Every Day in the Church's Year. *16mo. 2s. 6d. Also a Cheap Edition, 32mo. 1s.; or cloth gilt, 1s. 6d.; or with red borders, 2s. 6d.*

FIVE MINUTES. Daily Readings of Poetry. *16mo. 3s. 6d. Also a Cheap Edition, 32mo. 1s.; or cloth gilt, 1s. 6d.*

WEARINESS. A Book for the Languid and Lonely. *Large Type. Small 8vo. 5s.*

THE LIGHT OF THE CONSCIENCE. *16mo. 2s. 6d. 32mo. 1s.; cloth limp, 6d.*

CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHIES. *Nine Vols. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. each.*

MADAME LOUISE DE FRANCE, Daughter of Louis XV., known also as the Mother Tèrese de St. Augustin.

A DOMINICAN ARTIST: a Sketch of the Life of the Rev. Père Besson, of the Order of St. Dominic.

HENRI PERREYVE. By PÈRE GRATRY.

ST. FRANCIS DE SALES, Bishop and Prince of Geneva.

THE REVIVAL OF PRIESTLY LIFE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY IN FRANCE.

A CHRISTIAN PAINTER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BOSSUET AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

FÉNELON, ARCHBISHOP OF CAMBRAI.

HENRI DOMINIQUE LACORDAIRE.

DEVOTIONAL WORKS. Edited by H. L. SIDNEY LEAR. *New and Uniform Editions. Nine Vols. 16mo. 2s. 6d. each.*

FÉNELON'S SPIRITUAL LETTERS TO MEN.

FÉNELON'S SPIRITUAL LETTERS TO WOMEN.

A SELECTION FROM THE SPIRITUAL LETTERS OF ST. FRANCIS DE SALES.

THE SPIRIT OF ST. FRANCIS DE SALES.

THE HIDDEN LIFE OF THE SOUL.

THE LIGHT OF THE CONSCIENCE.

SELF-RENUNCIATION. From the French.

ST. FRANCIS DE SALES OF THE LOVE OF GOD.

SELECTIONS FROM PASCAL'S 'THOUGHTS.'

**Liddon.**—Works by HENRY PARRY LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., late Canon Residentiary and Chancellor of St. Paul's.

LIFE OF EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY, D.D. By HENRY PARRY LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. Edited and prepared for publication by the Rev. J. O. JOHNSTON, M.A., Principal of the Theological College, and Vicar of Cuddesdon, Oxford; and the Rev. ROBERT J. WILSON, D.D., Warden of Keble College. *With Portraits and Illustrations. Four Vols. 8vo. Vols. I. and II., 36s. Vol. III., 18s.*

CLERICAL LIFE AND WORK: Sermons. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES: Lectures on Buddhism—Lectures on the Life of St. Paul—Papers on Dante. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

EXPLANATORY ANALYSIS OF PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS. *8vo. 14s.*

SERMONS ON OLD TESTAMENT SUBJECTS. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

SERMONS ON SOME WORDS OF CHRIST. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

THE DIVINITY OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. Being the Bampton Lectures for 1866. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

ADVENT IN ST. PAUL'S. Sermons bearing chiefly on the Two Comings of our Lord. *Two Vols. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. each. Cheap Edition in one Volume. Crown 8vo. 5s.*

CHRISTMASTIDE IN ST. PAUL'S. Sermons bearing chiefly on the Birth of our Lord and the End of the Year. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

PASSIONTIDE SERMONS. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

EASTER IN ST. PAUL'S. Sermons bearing chiefly on the Resurrection of our Lord. *Two Vols. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. each. Cheap Edition in one Volume. Crown 8vo. 5s.*

SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. *Two Vols. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. each. Cheap Edition in one Volume. Crown 8vo. 5s.*

THE MAGNIFICAT. Sermons in St. Paul's. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

SOME ELEMENTS OF RELIGION. Lent Lectures. *Small 8vo. 2s. 6d.; or in paper cover, 1s. 6d.*

*The Crown 8vo Edition (5s.) may still be had.*

SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF H. P. LIDDON, D.D. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

MAXIMS AND GLEANINGS FROM THE WRITINGS OF H. P. LIDDON, D.D. Selected and arranged by C. M. S. *Crown 16mo. 1s.*

DR. LIDDON'S TOUR IN EGYPT AND PALESTINE IN 1836. Being Letters descriptive of the Tour, written by his Sister, Mrs. KING *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

**Luckock.**—Works by HERBERT MORTIMER LUCKOCK, D.D.,  
Dean of Lichfield.

THE HISTORY OF MARRIAGE, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN, IN  
RELATION TO DIVORCE AND CERTAIN FORBIDDEN  
DEGREES. *New and Enlarged Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.*

AFTER DEATH. An Examination of the Testimony of Primitive  
Times respecting the State of the Faithful Dead, and their Relationship  
to the Living. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE INTERMEDIATE STATE BETWEEN DEATH AND  
JUDGMENT. Being a Sequel to *After Death. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

FOOTPRINTS OF THE SON OF MAN, as traced by St. Mark. Being  
Eighty Portions for Private Study, Family Reading, and Instructions  
in Church. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE DIVINE LITURGY. Being the Order for Holy Communion,  
Historically, Doctrinally, and devotionally set forth, in Fifty Portions.  
*Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON  
PRAYER. The Anglican Reform—The Puritan Innovations—The  
Elizabethan Reaction—The Caroline Settlement. With Appendices.  
*Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE BISHOPS IN THE TOWER. A Record of Stirring Events  
affecting the Church and Nonconformists from the Restoration to the  
Revolution. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

LYRA GERMANICA. Hymns translated from the German by  
CATHERINE WINKWORTH. *Small 8vo. 5s.*

**MacColl.**—Works by the Rev. MALCOLM MACCOLL, M.A., Canon  
Residentary of Ripon.

CHRISTIANITY IN RELATION TO SCIENCE AND MORALS.  
*Crown 8vo. 6s.*

LIFE HERE AND HEREAFTER : Sermons. *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

**Mason.**—Works by A. J. MASON, D.D., Lady Margaret Professor  
of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

THE FAITH OF THE GOSPEL. A Manual of Christian Doctrine.  
*Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE RELATION OF CONFIRMATION TO BAPTISM. As taught  
in Holy Scripture and the Fathers. *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

**Mercier.**—OUR MOTHER CHURCH : Being Simple Talk  
on High Topics. By Mrs. JEROME MERCIER. *Small 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

**Milne.**—THE DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE OF THE  
EUCHARIST as deduced from Scripture and the Ancient Liturgies.  
By J. R. MILNE, Vicar of Rougham, Norfolk. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

**Mortimer.**—Works by the Rev. ALFRED G. MORTIMER, D.D.,  
Rector of St. Mark's, Philadelphia.

HELPS TO MEDITATION: Sketches for Every Day in the Year.  
With an Introduction by the Right Rev. the BISHOP OF SPRINGFIELD.

VOL. I.—ADVENT to TRINITY. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

VOL. II.—TRINITY to ADVENT. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

SERMONS IN MINIATURE FOR EX-  
TEMPORE PREACHERS: Sketches  
for Every Sunday and Holy Day of the  
Christian Year. Crown 8vo. 6s.

NOTES ON THE SEVEN PENE-  
TENTIAL PSALMS, chiefly from  
Patristic Sources. Fcp. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

STORIES FROM GENESIS: Sermons  
for Children. Crown 8vo. 4s.

LEARN OF JESUS CHRIST TO  
DIE: Addresses on the Words of our  
Lord from the Cross, taken as Teaching  
the Way of Preparation for Death.  
16mo. 2s.

THE LAWS OF HAPPINESS; or,  
The Beatitudes as teaching our Duty to  
God, Self, and our Neighbour. 18mo. 2s.

THE LAWS OF PENITENCE: Ad-  
dresses on the Words of our Lord from  
the Cross. 18mo. 1s. 6d.

**Mozley.**—Works by J. B. MOZLEY, D.D., late Canon of Christ  
Church, and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford.

ESSAYS, HISTORICAL AND THEOLOGICAL. Two Vols. 8vo. 24s.

EIGHT LECTURES ON MIRACLES. Being the Bampton Lectures  
for 1865. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

RULING IDEAS IN EARLY AGES AND THEIR RELATION TO  
OLD TESTAMENT FAITH. Lectures delivered to Graduates of  
the University of Oxford. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF  
OXFORD, and on Various Occasions. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

SERMONS, PAROCHIAL AND OCCASIONAL. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

A REVIEW OF THE BAPTISMAL CONTROVERSY. Crown 8vo.  
3s. 6d.

**Newbolt.**—Works by the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon  
and Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral, Select Preacher at  
Oxford, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Ely.

COUNSELS OF FAITH AND PRACTICE: being Sermons preached  
on various occasions. New and Enlarged Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s.

SPECULUM SACERDOTUM; or, the Divine Model of the Priestly  
Life. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

THE FRUIT OF THE SPIRIT. Being Ten Addresses bearing on  
the Spiritual Life. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

THE MAN OF GOD. Being Six Addresses delivered during Lent at  
the Primary Ordination of the Right Rev. the Lord Alwyne Compton,  
D.D., Bishop of Ely. Small 8vo. 1s. 6d.

THE PRAYER BOOK: Its Voice and Teaching. Being Spiritual  
Addresses bearing on the Book of Common Prayer. Crown 8vo.  
2s. 6d.

**Newman.**—Works by JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D., sometime Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford.

PAROCHIAL AND PLAIN SERMONS. *Eight Vols. Cabinet Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s. each. Cheaper Edition. 3s. 6d. each.*

SELECTION, ADAPTED TO THE SEASONS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR, from the 'Parochial and Plain Sermons,' *Cabinet Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s. Cheaper Edition. 3s. 6d.*

FIFTEEN SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD *Cabinet Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s. Cheaper Edition. 3s. 6d.*

SERMONS BEARING UPON SUBJECTS OF THE DAY. *Cabinet Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s. Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

LECTURES ON THE DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION. *Cabinet Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s. Cheaper Edition. 3s. 6d.*

\* \* A Complete List of Cardinal Newman's Works can be had on Application.

**Norris.**—RUDIMENTS OF THEOLOGY: a First Book for Students. By JOHN PILKINGTON NORRIS, D.D., late Archdeacon of Bristol, and Canon Residentiary of Bristol Cathedral. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

**Osborne.**—Works by EDWARD OSBORNE, Mission Priest of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, Oxford.

THE CHILDREN'S SAVIOUR. Instructions to Children on the Life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Illustrated. 16mo. 2s. 6d.*

THE SAVIOUR KING. Instructions to Children on Old Testament Types and Illustrations of the Life of Christ. *Illustrated. 16mo. 2s. 6d.*

THE CHILDREN'S FAITH. Instructions to Children on the Apostles' Creed. *Illustrated. 16mo. 2s. 6d.*

**Overton.**—THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, 1800-1833. By the Rev. JOHN H. OVERTON, D.D., Canon of Lincoln, Rector of Epworth, Doncaster, and Rural Dean of the Isle of Axholme. *8vo. 14s.*

**Oxenden.**—Works by the Right Rev. ASHTON OXENDEN, formerly Bishop of Montreal.

PLAIN SERMONS, to which is prefixed a Memorial Portrait. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

THE HISTORY OF MY LIFE: An Autobiography. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

PEACE AND ITS HINDRANCES. *Crown 8vo. 1s. sewed; 2s. cloth.*

THE PATHWAY OF SAFETY; or, Counsel to the Awakened. *Fcap. 8vo, large type. 2s. 6d. Cheap Edition. Small type, limp, 1s.*

THE EARNEST COMMUNICANT. *New Red Rubric Edition. 32mo, cloth. 2s. Common Edition. 32mo. 1s.*

OUR CHURCH AND HER SERVICES. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

[continued.]

**Oxenden.**—Works by the Right Rev. ASHTON OXENDEN formerly Bishop of Montreal—*continued.*

FAMILY PRAYERS FOR FOUR WEEKS. First Series. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.* Second Series. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

LARGE TYPE EDITION. Two Series in one Volume. *Crown 8vo. 6s.*  
COTTAGE SERMONS; or, Plain Words to the Poor. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*  
THOUGHTS FOR HOLY WEEK. *16mo, cloth. 1s. 6d.*

DECISION. *18mo. 1s. 6d.*

THE HOME BEYOND; or, A Happy Old Age. *Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*

THE LABOURING MAN'S BOOK. *18mo, large type, cloth. 1s. 6d.*

**Paget.**—Works by FRANCIS PAGET, D.D., Dean of Christ Church.  
STUDIES IN THE CHRISTIAN CHARACTER: Sermons. With an Introductory Essay. *Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.*

THE SPIRIT OF DISCIPLINE: Sermons. *Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.*

FACULTIES AND DIFFICULTIES FOR BELIEF AND DISBELIEF. *Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.*

THE HALLOWING OF WORK. Addresses given at Eton, January 16-18, 1888. *Small 8vo. 2s.*

PRACTICAL REFLECTIONS. By a CLERGYMAN. With Prefaces by H. P. LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., and the BISHOP OF LINCOLN. *Crown 8vo.*

THE BOOK OF GENESIS. *4s. 6d.*

THE PSALMS. *5s.*

ISAIAH. *4s. 6d.*

THE HOLY GOSPELS. *4s. 6d.*

ACTS TO REVELATIONS. *6s.*

PRIEST (THE) TO THE ALTAR; or, Aids to the Devout Celebration of Holy Communion, chiefly after the Ancient English Use of Sarum. *Royal 8vo. 12s.*

**Prynne.**—THE TRUTH AND REALITY OF THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE, Proved from Holy Scripture, the Teaching of the Primitive Church, and the Book of Common Prayer. By the Rev. GEORGE RUNDLE PRYNNE, M.A. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

**Puller.**—THE PRIMITIVE SAINTS AND THE SEE OF ROME. By F. W. PULLER, M.A., Mission Priest of the Society of St. John Evangelist, Cowley, Oxford. *Crown 8vo 7s. 6d.*

**Pusey.**—LIFE OF EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY, D.D. By HENRY PARRY LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. Edited and prepared for publication by the Rev. J. O. JOHNSTON, M.A., Principal of the Theological College, Vicar of Cuddesdon, Oxford, and the Rev. ROBERT J. WILSON, D.D., Warden of Keble College. *With Portraits and Illustrations. Four Vols. 8vo. Vols. I. and II., 36s. Vol. III., 18s.*

**Pusey.**—Works by the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.

PRIVATE PRAYERS. With Preface by H. P. LIDDON, D.D. *32mo. 1s.*

SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY, D.D. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

**Randolph.**—**LAW OF SINAI**: being Devotional Addresses on the Ten Commandments delivered to Ordinands. By B. W. RANDOLPH, M.A., Principal of the Theological College and Hon. Canon of Ely. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

**Sanday.**—Works by W. SANDAY, D.D., Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford.

**INSPIRATION**: Eight Lectures on the Early History and Origin of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration. Being the Bampton Lectures for 1893. *Crown. 7s. 6d.*

**THE ORACLES OF GOD**: Nine Lectures on the Nature and Extent of Biblical Inspiration and the Special Significance of the Old Testament Scriptures at the Present Time. *Crown 8vo. 4s.*

**TWO PRESENT-DAY QUESTIONS.** I. Biblical Criticism. II. The Social Movement. Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

**Seebohm.**—**THE OXFORD REFORMERS—JOHN COLET, ERASMUS, AND THOMAS MORE**: A History of their Fellow-Work. By FREDERICK SEEBOHM. *8vo. 14s.*

**Williams.**—Works by the Rev. ISAAC WILLIAMS, B.D.

**A DEVOTIONAL COMMENTARY ON THE GOSPEL NARRATIVE**, *Eight Vols. Crown 8vo. 5s. each. Sold Separately.*

THOUGHTS ON THE STUDY OF THE HOLY GOSPELS.	OUR LORD'S MINISTRY (Third Year).
A HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.	THE HOLY WEEK.
OUR LORD'S NATIVITY.	OUR LORD'S PASSION.
OUR LORD'S MINISTRY (Second Year).	OUR LORD'S RESURRECTION.

**FEMALE CHARACTERS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.** A Series of Sermons, *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

**THE CHARACTERS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.** *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

**THE APOCALYPSE.** With Notes and Reflections. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

**SERMONS ON THE EPISTLES AND GOSPELS FOR THE SUNDAYS AND HOLY DAYS.** *Two Vols. Crown 8vo. 5s. each.*

**PLAIN SERMONS ON CATECHISM.** *Two Vols. Cr. 8vo. 5s. each.*

**SELECTIONS FROM ISAAC WILLIAMS' WRITINGS.** *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

**THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ISAAC WILLIAMS, B.D.**, Author of several of the 'Tracts for the Times.' Edited by the Venerable Sir GEORGE PREVOST, as throwing further light on the history of the Oxford Movement, *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

**Wordsworth.**—Works by the late CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln.

THE HOLY BIBLE (the Old Testament). With Notes, Introductions, and Index. *Imperial 8vo.*

Vol. I. THE PENTATEUCH. 25s. Vol. II. JOSHUA TO SAMUEL. 15s.  
Vol. III. KINGS to ESTHER. 15s. Vol. IV. JOB TO SONG OF  
SOLOMON. 25s. Vol. V. ISAIAH TO EZEKIEL. 25s. Vol. VI.  
DANIEL, MINOR PROPHETS, and Index. 15s.

*Also supplied in 12 Parts. Sold separately.*

THE NEW TESTAMENT, in the Original Greek. With Notes, Introductions, and Indices. *Imperial 8vo.*

Vol. I. GOSPELS AND ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. 23s. Vol. II.  
EPISTLES, APOCALYPSE, and Indices. 37s.

*Also supplied in 4 Parts. Sold separately.*

LECTURES ON INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE. *Small 8vo.*  
1s. 6d. cloth. 1s. sewed.

A CHURCH HISTORY TO A.D. 451. *Four Vols. Crown 8vo.*

Vol. I. TO THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA, A.D. 325. 8s. 6d. Vol. II.  
FROM THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA TO THAT OF CONSTANTINOPLE.  
6s. Vol. III. CONTINUATION. 6s. Vol. IV. CONCLUSION, TO  
THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, A.D. 451. 6s.

THEOPHILUS ANGLICANUS: a Manual of Instruction on the Church and the Anglican Branch of it. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

ELEMENTS OF INSTRUCTION ON THE CHURCH. 16mo.  
1s. cloth. 6d. sewed.

ST. HIPPOLYTUS AND THE CHURCH OF ROME. *Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.*  
ON UNION WITH ROME. *Small 8vo. 1s. 6d. Sewed, 1s.*

THE HOLY YEAR: Original Hymns. 16mo. 2s. 6d. and 1s. *Limp, 6d.*

" " With Music. Edited by W. H. MONK. *Square 8vo. 4s. 6d.*  
GUIDES AND GOADS. (An English Edition of 'Ethica et Spiritualia.')  
32mo. 1s. 6d.

MISCELLANIES, Literary and Religious. *Three Vols. 8vo. 36s.*

ON THE INTERMEDIATE STATE OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH. 32mo. 1s.

**Younghusband.**—Works by FRANCES YOUNGHUSBAND.

THE STORY OF OUR LORD, told in Simple Language for Children.  
With 25 Illustrations on Wood from Pictures by the Old Masters,  
and numerous Ornamental Borders, Initial Letters, etc., from Long-  
mans' New Testament. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

THE STORY OF GENESIS, told in Simple Language for Children.  
With Frontispiece. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.*


THE STORY OF THE EXODUS, told in Simple Language for Children. With Map and 29 Illustrations. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.*

---

Printed by T. and A. CONSTABLE, Printers to Her Majesty,  
at the Edinburgh University Press.

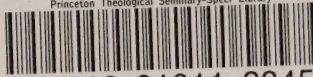


# Date Due

DE 2- '53			
MR 1- '54			
<del>SEP 1- '54</del>			
APR 27 1991			
DEC 2 2 1997			
			



Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 01011 3845